The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

THE war in Korea has proved to be more than a challenge to the United Nations, whose chief weapon must be the informed public opinion of the world which becomes effective so slowly as possibly to be dangerously slow. It is an attack upon U.S.A. and the Western Powers which stops short only at openly declared war. At Lake Success Mr. Vishinsky has admitted that the Russians are advising the Chinese, and Mr. Wu, refusing to receive, much less answer, questions at his Press Conference, declared that he will call off the Chinese 'volunteers' acting in Korea on terms. These are being examined, of course; but this is the technique with which we were made tragically familiar in Europe in the 1930s, when every concession made in the hope of finding a basis for agreement was made the ground of more extreme demands for the building up of a strategical position from which a final assault could be launched. Nothing can be clearer than that neither Europe nor U.S.A. wants war, either cold or hot, but the initiative was lost when after the war Britain exhausted by the effort for victory became absorbed in organizing her social revolution and the United States demobilized her armies. The only great mobilized armed forces in the world today are the Russian and Chinese. There are said to be 145 divisions in Europe under the orders of the Soviet Government. Our only defence, if defence were to be needed, is the dreadful power of the atom bomb. The Moscow radio claims that its propaganda has denied its use to the Western Powers. There is no recognition that in the heart and mind of every civilized person in the West is a humanitarianism which shrinks from the contemplation of employing it. That is the dilemma of President Truman as well as Mr. Attlee—to use or not to use our only means of defence. It is a dilemma which we all share, and we must, and do, pray with all our hearts, that God in His mercy will lead us through the darkness of our fears. There are those who would have our Government announce that in no circumstances will the bomb be used. The only alternative, if it is so, is a vast rearmament programme which will absorb our recovering strength. And where will it lead us?

AN article on another page reminds us that there is a certain disposition among Continental theologians to take no part in these tremendous decisions, but to bring both contending parties under the judgment of the Gospel. This is not new, of course. But what it can mean was, in some part, revealed in Germany when the Churches watched the rise of Hitler with detachment, until he, at the time of his own choosing, directly attacked the Church. When the theologians and bishops realized their own danger, the battle was over and lost. In a pamphlet, *The Church and the Political Problem of our Day* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1939), Karl Barth, defending himself against the charge of having admired Hitler by confessing that the Church adopted a neutral attitude, wrote, "Everything in its own time. It was first of all fair and just to give even the political experiment of National Socialism as such its chance". But this was long after *Mein Kampf* had been officially made compulsory reading in Germany!

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"EVERYTHING in its own time". And so Germany became first the victim and then the instrument of a tyranny so ruthless that even yet we shrink from the contemplation of its horrors.

Is that to be the fate of Europe?—to be first the victim and then the instrument of an inhuman, atheistic materialism? It might be said that defeat will prove to be the eventual salvation of Germany. Let us hope and pray so. But let us also not forget that defeat at the hands of Britain and U.S.A. means something very different from what defeat at the hands of a victorious Hitlerite Germany would have meant for the rest of Europe.

It is true that the Church is not bound up with events in the world, but it cannot dissociate itself from them nor be indifferent to them. In Dante's great poem, the neutrals dismissed from the gate of Heaven, were refused entrance even to Hell. They swirl eternally in the dark, icy spaces of nowhere.

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IN foreign affairs the support of the Government offered by the Opposition makes a virtual but unsatisfactory coalition. The problems of government in this country are now so grave that we revive our hope that Parliament, with or without a General Election, may become a Council of State, supporting a Government which represents the whole country. What is at stake is more than the social revolution in this country or America. The liberalism in religion and life which has been the inspiration of Western civilization since the Reformation is in danger.

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A REPORT has been issued entitled *Church Relations in England* (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.) on the *Conversations between Representatives of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Representatives of the Evan-*

gelical Free Churches in England, who have met together for several groups of sessions to consider the implications of the Archbishop of Canterbury's sermon preached at Cambridge in 1946 (which is reprinted with the Report).

In his sermon the Archbishop suggested that instead of considering the goal of organic union with all its details of organization, Anglican and Free Churchmen should turn their attention to the idea of full inter-communion between them. This would mean that each Church could keep its own traditions and its own identity, and that each would recognize the ministry and sacraments of the others as equivalent to its own, so that the obstacles to a full Christian fellowship and common life between them would be removed. This could be done, he suggested, if the Free Churches would make the experiment of 'taking episcopacy into their own systems' and so creating a ministry which Anglicans could recognize but free from the objections which Free Churchmen had always felt about the Anglican episcopate.

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THE Preface is signed by the Bishop of Derby and Dr. Nathaniel Micklem as Joint Chairmen. The representatives include 5 other Bishops and 13 clergy on the Anglican side, and 16 other ministers and 2 laymen from the Free Churches.

The Baptist Union, the Congregational Union, and the Methodist Church had 3 representatives each, and the Presbyterian Church of England 2. The other bodies taking part were the Moravian Church, the Wesleyan Reform Union, the Independent Methodist Church, the Churches of Christ, and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. The Free Church Federal Council was also represented.

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IT is important to note that the Report is an attempt to elucidate the implications of the Archbishop's sermon, and that it does not set forth any detailed scheme. It answers the hypothetical question—What would be involved if the Archbishop's proposals were adopted? The question as to whether they shall be adopted or not depends on the decisions of the individual Churches concerned, and negotiations can only take place between the Church of England and one or more of the Free Churches separately in the future.

The Report, after briefly relating the previous contacts between the Church of England and the Free Churches in the years 1920-39, starts from this point and takes as its agenda the suggestion made by Dr. Fisher. It goes on to examine the implications of this proposal under three heads: The Nature of the Church, the Faith of the Church, and the Ministry of the Church.

The Doctrine of the Church. In regard to the Nature of the Church the representatives are agreed that the present-day use of the word "Church" for a particular denomination must be completely distinguished from the true New Testament idea of the Church. In this true sense, the Church comprises the invisible Church, including the whole company of the faithful departed, as well as the visible Church, 'the Church Militant' with which the Report is concerned. This visible Church, they agree, is essentially one, and is not a man-made union of independent local churches. But beyond this there is disagreement as to whether the visible Church exists wherever the Gospel is preached and the sacraments administered in a faithful Christian congregation, or whether the visible aspect of the Church is necessarily connected with some particular form of ministry. These two views, it is stated, are not necessarily the Free Church and the Anglican views respectively, but cut across denominational differences.

For intercommunion, as envisaged by the Archbishop, it is essential that everyone taking part should have full confidence that the sacrament in which he joins is truly the Church's sacrament, and therefore the question of the ministry is fundamental. This is recognized by all.

Other possible objections to the idea are considered. Two parallel episcopal Churches, each acknowledging the other's ministry and sacraments and in full inter-communion with each other in the same country, might be judged contrary to the idea of the historic episcopate as involving one bishop only in one place. Where two episcopal Churches have existed in the same country, one or both has usually considered itself the true Church and denied the claims of the other. But none of the Churches represented could desire to take up that position. For intercommunion there is the precedent of the concordat between the Church of England and the Old Catholics on the Continent, and even on Roman Catholic premises, there is the fact of the existence of Uniat Churches alongside the Roman Church, and other examples ancient and modern in various countries. Nevertheless, the existence of parallel episcopates in full communion though anomalous could be accepted, it is declared, if regarded as temporary and as a stage towards full organic unity.

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The Faith in General. Regarding the 'Faith of the Church', all the representatives find themselves in agreement on the apostolic faith expressed in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. There are differences in the use of formal creeds in the different Churches, and the objections which some feel to any doctrinal formularies are noted. But so long as the basic position of Holy Scripture as a doctrinal standard is acknowledged, the subject of creeds need not

be any ultimate obstacle to full communion. The tenet of 'justification by faith' is likewise examined, and here again there are differences of approach, but, it is believed, no fundamental divergence.

On Baptism there is already considerable unity. The subject of Believers' versus Infant Baptism was not examined at length because it is not an issue between the Church of England and the Free Churches as such, but only arises in the case of the Baptists and Churches of Christ; hence it may be left for later consideration. The completion of Baptism by Confirmation or some parallel rite of reception into full Church membership, and the relation of the two stages, are subjects of discussion at present within several of the Churches represented, and though further inter-church discussion would be necessary, no fundamental disagreement need be anticipated.

Concerning the Eucharist, certain definite agreements are noted as well as disagreements. The latter concern the ideas of sacrifice and the Real Presence. The divergent views are noted. But where there is agreement on certain fundamentals, it is not necessary that differences of interpretation should be a bar to intercommunion. It is pointed out that Christ's command is to "Do this" and not to hold this or that view.

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The Crucial Question of the Ministry. This is a question of Church Order, and here some believe that the Gospel creates for itself varying forms of Church Order, no one of which is essential, while others hold that certain forms of Church order are essential parts of the Gospel and inseparable from it. There is also a central body of opinion. It is pointed out that it is not only Anglicans who have held that their Church order must conform to a certain essential apostolic pattern: in the past Presbyterians and Independents have held this view about their own forms of order, and some Free Churchmen do so still. Within Anglicanism there are divergences regarding the theory and interpretation of 'the historic episcopate': but it is noted that there has been wide agreement among both Anglicans and Free Churchmen that 'in this country progress towards a united Church can only come if an episcopal order is accepted which can claim and maintain a link with the historic successions of the most ancient Churches of Christendom'.

The Free Churches' historical suspicion of episcopacy in its traditional Anglican form is noted. The Free Churches would not accept episcopacy without certain conditions, *e.g.*, that it should be remembered that bishops form only one part of the ministry of the Church and should have presbyters and laity associated with them, and further, that the Free Churches should remain free to maintain

the relations of fellowship and intercommunion which they at present enjoy with non-episcopal Churches. This latter point is quite essential for them.

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REGARDING the functions of bishops it is hoped that there would prove to be no ultimate disagreement for 'the Anglican episcopate has been steadily shedding its autocratic pretensions', while the Free Churches have been giving attention to 'pastoral oversight by appointed ministers over congregations and ministers'. There is a widespread desire among Anglicans that the Free Churches, in adopting episcopacy, should also adopt the rule of episcopal Confirmation: some Anglicans would desire to make this a condition of intercommunion. But it is believed that, with further consideration, 'a way forward which would meet the scruples of both sides might be found'.

A greater problem is foreseen regarding the manner of the introduction of episcopal ordination into the Free Churches. Free Churchmen certainly would not accept the reordination of their ministers. But if only new ordinations were episcopal, there would, from the Anglican point of view, be a fundamental distinction within the Free Church ministry, a distinction which the Free Churches would be very reluctant to recognize even for an interim period. The importance of the question is recognized but the conferring representatives do not think themselves called upon to put forward detailed proposals for overcoming the difficulty at this stage; it would be a matter for later negotiations should the principle of the Archbishop's proposals be accepted.

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THE ordination of women and the occasional celebration of Holy Communion by laymen in some of the Free Churches are possible obstacles to intercommunion with Anglicans, but in some cases these are in the nature of occasional and not regular features of the order of the Churches concerned. It cannot be predicted whether these could be given up for the sake of wider relations of intercommunion, even if it were made clear that no sacrifice of principle concerning the doctrine of the ministry was involved.

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IN conclusion, the representatives point out that they have not been conducting negotiations or drawing up schemes for reunion, but only putting forward, to the best of their ability, the points which must be considered if the Church of England and any one or more of the Free Churches decide to open negotiations. Such negotiations would be conducted 'in a parallel series' between the Church of England on the one hand and individual Free Churches on the other.

If a Free Church decided 'by examination and if necessary by experiment' that it could 'take episcopacy into its system' the Church of England might be asked to co-operate through its bishops in the consecration of bishops for the Free Church. Episcopacy as developed in the Free Church might vary in certain respects from the contemporary English model. The Report envisages that a Free Church, which thus took episcopacy into its own traditional structure, might make a new and constructive contribution to Christendom in the understanding of episcopacy by incorporating it into its own tradition.

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THE conclusion of the Report is that negotiations for the acceptance of intercommunion would require agreement on six points which may be summarized thus:

1. Assurances with respect to doctrinal standards having been exchanged, each Church would declare itself satisfied in this respect.
2. The Free Church would 'take episcopacy into its system' by the acceptance of an episcopate linked by succession with the episcopate of the past, and adopt episcopal ordination as the rule for the future, and the Church of England would recognize the Free Church's bishops and episcopally ordained ministers to be duly commissioned and authorized for the same offices in the Church of God as its own bishops and priests.
3. The Church of England would agree to admit to Communion communicant members of the Free Church, and would authorize its own members to receive Holy Communion from ministers of the Free Church who had been consecrated to the episcopate or episcopally ordained.
4. The Church of England, without making it a condition of intercommunion, would express the hope that episcopal confirmation would come to be widely, and in the end, generally, used in the Free Church.
5. The Free Church would continue to maintain relations of intercommunion with non-episcopal churches and the Church of England, though not itself able to adopt the like policy, would not regard this as a bar to intercommunion between the Free Church and itself.
6. The parallel existence of separate Churches in the same area in intercommunion with each other would be regarded as only a temporary stage, on the road to full union.

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THE Report will now be presented by the Free Church representatives to their own authorities and by the Anglican representatives to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop has already stated

emphatically, in a speech which is quoted in the Report, that no immediate action will be taken on the Report, and he therefore hopes that there will be the minimum of propaganda either for or against its suggestions, but a period of careful and dispassionate consideration and informal debate before the Report is presented to the various appropriate assemblies.

In deference to this request our own comment is held over and we commend the Report to the careful study of our readers.

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Nor will we anticipate here a discussion of the definition of the dogma of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary by the Pope, which we hope to print as soon as the relevant documents are available in this country. A number of explanations are being given in the Roman Catholic journals, which warn us again that the one Church of Christ is still unhappily far to seek. There are forms of Christianity, even in Europe, which are so impregnated by Mariolatry as to be hardly recognizable by Protestants. An article in a Rome Jesuit journal states that 1,191 bishops wanted the dogma defined: 86 did not reply to the invitation for their opinion; 22 were doubtful about the expediency of the definition, and 6 doubtful about its possibility. Such a concensus of episcopal opinion, says the article, has hardly been known before. The new dogma "is neither for nor against Mary's death and resurrection. . . . The theologians can go on freely discussing this question. Most of them hold that the Virgin died and was resuscitated".

The article acknowledges that there are no contemporary documents regarding the Assumption, so that the new dogma is not "an explicit truth", but "implicitly implied in other truths". To meet the difficulty of the absence of documents it adds, "The Spirit of God can illumine more widely than anything which can be deduced by the mere historical critical method".

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The practice of publishing reports before their presentation to the bodies which authorize them is sometimes unfortunate. The Report of the Social and Industrial Commission of the Church Assembly, *Gambling: An Ethical Discussion* (Church Information Board, 3s.), is perhaps a case in point. Its title is apt, for it is reminiscent of many such discussions in senior Common rooms. On presentation it was 'received' without being 'adopted'. It is permissible to think that if it had not already been published it would not have survived the Assembly's debate where, however, it was not without support. It is printed as having "only the authority of the Commission by which it was issued". The Report is unable to condemn gambling within the limits of the gambler's means; and since it is

not wrong to gamble, it cannot be wrong to provide facilities for it. "The gambling industry" is thus provided with an ethical justification for its existence. If the sweepstake organizers and bookmaker's touts, who are rarely prosecuted and even more rarely defended in Court, care to use it, their defending solicitors will find curious support in these pages.

This Report should be read alongside the Rev. E. Benson Perkins' new book, *Gambling in English Life* (Epworth Press, 6s.), which is an exhaustive survey of the more practical aspects of this problem, with an account of the repeated efforts of the legislature to discourage and limit practices so socially pernicious. For many of us Christ's teaching about the stewardship of wealth is a sufficient condemnation of gambling gains as well as losses, and what further guidance we may need is found in the simple fact that a tree is judged by its fruits. A tree that bears much evil fruit is something less than good. Few fathers would learn with equanimity that their sons had developed a habit of gambling: and a man in any position of trust who was known to be an habitual gambler would on that account be regarded with justifiable suspicion.

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THERE are still those who use the word 'Puritan' as what is referred to in the police courts as 'an opprobrious epithet'. Some of them ought to know better. They would if, for example, they had looked in at Somerset House recently and seen a small exhibition of documents showing the way in which marriages could be 'celebrated' in the 17th and 18th centuries. There were displayed photostatic copies of records made by disreputable clergymen, either languishing in the Fleet prison (where the Memorial Hall now stands) or subsisting precariously in the neighbourhood. The ceremonies took place mostly in taverns, some of which had their own resident parson and kept their own registers. In some cases the only record seems to have been in the notebook kept by the parson. Of these Fleet Registers and notebooks some hundreds survive, and they contain some curious entries. One clergyman advertised himself as "educated at the University of Cambridge. Now to be found at The Old Red Hand and Mitre three doors from Fleet Lane and next door to the White Swan". After marrying one couple, the Rev. Edward Aswell recorded, "Patrick, Margt. married. would not tell their names". Touts cried the competing facilities offered by the various taverns and brandy shops to the passers-by. One of these clergymen was known as "The Bishop of Hell". What a picture is called up, and how we underrate the work of those men who began the long task of bringing decency and dignity into the lives and social customs of the people of England!

A KINDLY correspondent who now lives in a region where they play football all the year round begins his letter, "We have not had much cricket in *C.Q.* lately". I wish it were possible to offer him some pleasant reflections on the present Australian tour. But, alas—

> The troubles of our proud and angry dust
> Are from eternity and shall not fail—

There has been little comfort for us so far on those wonderful Antipodean scoreboards which spell out the game ball by ball. The Brisbane Test began so well until the weather reduced it to a tragic farce—the sort of game that no one cared who won or lost. The Sidney Test will be played as we are in the press. The country games have given us tantalizing moments, even days, of refreshing hope, but they have been days and moments quickly flying.

They say we play too much cricket nowadays—as if that were possible. But the Counties have so few amateurs that the professionals may be asked for too much too often. But the game is what it always was, and a new generation is always coming up to take the places of their elders, which they never seem quite to fill. That was a pleasant story of the schoolgirl returning from the family holiday where they had played, and talked, so much cricket that the train joined in, "Silly mid on, silly mid on, silly mid *off*, silly mid on . . . " all the way home.

But it is more than time for us to put ourselves in the succession of cricketing editors of this Journal, though in this house it is the younger generation that studies *Wisden* most assiduously (why is there no paper in the history and practice of Cricket in the university scholarship examinations?), and plays cricket wherever and whenever cricket is playable. We ourselves take our cricket now, when we are not umpiring, from a deck chair, within sight and sound of the sea, with the sheep grazing just beyond the outfield and the gulls crying overhead. Across the arm of the Bay the lovely outline of the Lleyn peninsula stretches half-way across the horizon, at its tip Bardsey Island dimly discernible and the skyline of the Caernarvonshire hills rising so gracefully as it moves eastward to the Rivals at Pwllheli, and then, still rising, merges into the blue confusion of the Snowdon massif with the unmistakable peak of Eryrie like a queen among her courtiers. . . . And when a wicket has fallen we turn, and there to the right are the hills of the Mawddach estuary with Diphwys our infallible weather vane. Cader Idris is behind us, hidden from sight by its own foothills. Old Trafford has its great memories—we were too late to see Maclaren play, but have sat next to him on the members' stand; but there was Brierley bowling to Jessup, and Rhodes and Hirst bowling to J. T. Tyldesley, and Spooner who left the game too soon; Macartney in an innings of 167; Hobbs and Sutcliffe opening for England; and Bradman walk-

ing slowly out having decided that one century would do for this afternoon. There was also Hobbs out twice in an afternoon for less than 30 runs; Emmett Robinson deafening the umpire with his appeals; Blyth of Kent and Verity bowling with brains as well as fingers. And there have been battles of the Roses that could not be called dull, because though we ourselves were Lancashire only by adoption, our companion was a pugnacious little Yorkshireman. Nothing was dull in that match for him. If Yorkshire were batting without scoring, they were at any rate not getting out: if Lancashire were batting without scoring they were at any rate not making runs. It is only Southerners who think the Lancashire and Yorkshire match can be dull.

One misses Old Trafford on the great days, but given a fine Saturday afternoon with the white clouds riding high in the immense blue sky, their dark shadows drifting across the green sea, or a Wednesday evening, when in the second innings the sun is declining behind the Peninsula turning its hills and mountains into a purple-shaded fairyland, the village team on this village ground is better than the members' enclosure anywhere. And if you should one day want to join us you must look on the map for Llwyngwril.

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The Index for 1950 is now ready and may be had from the Independent Press, price 6d.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

By Sidney M. Berry, M.A., D.D.

The tour just concluded, lasting nine months and taking me into five different countries, has led to certain impressions and convictions which ought to be shared with all those who are concerned with Congregational Churches throughout the world. The setting up of an organized International Council for Congregationalism was a new departure, which commanded general assent. On the other hand it left some people wondering how the new organization would fit into the Congregational picture, and what functions it would fulfil. The answers to such questions are clearer in my mind at the close of this visitation, the first of its kind in the history of our churches. Representatives of Congregationalism have visited the churches of other lands before, but the journey undertaken for the I.C.C. was not merely a preaching and speaking tour, but a serious attempt to understand the situation and needs of the churches with a view to assisting them in such ways as are within the powers and resources of the world fellowship.

The journey undertaken covered Southern India, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and in all these countries a programme of engagements was arranged by the Congregational representatives on the spot. It was a strenuous programme, involving continual travel but in the providence of God no engagement was missed on account of ill-health. Details and incidents with their human interests would make the story too long to tell in an account like this. Public functions, the reception given by the Government of New Zealand and the numberless civic receptions in various cities were the decorative side of the visit, but they served to bring the work of the churches into the light of public attention and heartened our people who are disheartened by the sense of isolation and weakness. Opportunities to speak over the radio, of which there were many, gave one the chance to reach a wider public. And there were many and varied occasions on which one met and conferred with the leaders of other denominations. I preached at a Sunday evening service in the Cathedral at Sydney, and gave an address on the World Council of Churches in the Cathedral at Perth.

I can most effectively summarize the impressions of the visitation by dealing with each country in turn.

South India

This part of the visit covered a period of about five weeks and during the whole of the time I was under the guidance of missionaries of the L.M.S. and the American Board. I stayed in the homes of missionaries and had many opportunities of discussion with them; spoke and preached to Indian congregations and audiences; visited some of the great missionary institutions,—schools, colleges and hospitals; and in the course of the visit stayed with three of the bishops of the Church of South India.

The chief interest of my time in India was to get a first-hand impression of the greatest experiment of Christian union in the modern world. Allowing for all the limitations which must attach to a short visit, my impression was that the quality of fellowship and co-operation attained after two years' experience of union was an evident sign of the blessing of God. There was no suggestion at any time of angling for denominational advantage. Loyalties were to the new Church, rather than to the old denominations, and the kind of episcopacy in the organization of the Church seems absolutely free at this stage from elements which have set Free Churchmen at variance with that form of government in the past. There was apparent a keen desire and intention to bring the values of each type of ecclesiastical order into the united Church. It is in my judgment essential to the full success of the experiment that each denomination represented in it should keep in the closest fellowship with the Church in South India, and as far as Congregationalism is concerned this can be assured by the co-operation of the missionaries on the spot which, of course, is invaluable, and on the wider scale the co-operation of the I.C.C. In the Church of South India and in the many united Churches throughout the world, the I.C.C. must regard as one of its greatest functions the strengthening of the links which bind us to them.

Australia

The visit to Australia covered a period of more than three months and took me to all the six States of that far-spread Commonwealth. Besides countless visits to individual churches and districts, both in cities and countryside, I was present at the centenary meetings of the South Australian Union, the biennial meeting of the Union of Australia and New Zealand, and the annual meeting of the State Unions in Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria.

The problems of Congregationalism in Australia are immense. The churches are on the whole thinly scattered over vast distances. The tasks of achieving full fellowship on the practical plane are beset with difficulties which are almost overwhelming. States like Western Australia and Tasmania are weakened by the sense of isolation. The federation of the different States is still rather loose owing to the distances which separate them, and this is reflected

in our Congregational organization. The most urgent problem at the moment is the shortage of ministers. It is reckoned that, at the moment, that shortage amounts to about forty, and this, at a time when new immigrants are pouring into the country, spells weakness. It must, of course, be the aim of Australia, as of every other country, to provide its own ministry, and Australia is well equipped with colleges for their training. A notable addition to their colleges was made while I was out there by a munificent and anonymous gift which will ensure a new college in Brisbane in connection with the University of Queensland. But for the time being Australia must look largely to Great Britain for ministers. The ministers who have gone out under the Colonial Missionary Society are doing great service but there is an urgent need for an increase in their numbers, and for arrangements about future superannuation which will ensure that men who exercise their ministries partly in one country and partly in another do not suffer in the provision made for their years of retirement. This was one of the practical details which were under discussion during my visit and enquiries were set on foot which I hope may lead eventually to a solution. But, of course, the chief difficulty of the situation is that Australia's need of ministers comes at a time when the ranks of our ministers in Britain are so sorely depleted. There is no answer to that problem except in securing an increase in the number of candidates for the ministry in both countries. In the meantime we must not allow ourselves to take narrow views of our situation in Britain. We cannot build fences round our home ministry at a time when large numbers of our people are finding a new home overseas. The British Commonwealth must be treated as a unity in our thinking, and long-range views emphasize the urgent necessity of strengthening the Congregational witness in the great overseas territories of our race. Is there a more important item in Christian strategy today than the winning of the English speaking peoples for Christ? The thought came to me while I was in Australia that perhaps American Congregationalism might be able to help in the solution of this problem on which any movement of advance must depend. Many discussions took place on other problems, but the talk always came back to the problem of ministerial shortage as the outstanding one. Australian Congregationalists delicately suggested that in a time of big-scale immigration this problem was one which the churches of Britain ought to share with them.

New Zealand

The visit to New Zealand covered nearly six weeks and took me to all the main centres in the North and the South Islands. I had a full opportunity of discussing the whole situation with the officials of the New Zealand Union. Congregationalism in New

Zealand is numerically weak—more so than in Australia. The Churches only number about 24, but the ministers sent out by the C.M.S. in recent years are exerting an influence on the community greater than their number would suggest and the groundwork for advance is being prepared. For many years the spirit of defeatism infected organized Congregationalism and churches were abandoned and sold. That depressing period is ended. There is no marked shortage of ministers, although there are several churches which are vacant and looking for ministers, and it is difficult to see where they will be found except in Britain. The pressure of ministerial shortage in the war and post-war period has led some of the smaller churches to find ministers among men whose only training has been in Bible Colleges.

A new feature in New Zealand Church life is the presence in large numbers of natives of the Cook Islands and from Samoa who are attracted by high wages. There are obvious moral dangers in this influx of native peoples into towns already overcrowded. The churches are doing their utmost to cope with the situation. There is the Pacific Island Church with a native minister; and Mr. Challis, an ex-L.M.S. missionary, superintends the whole of the work whose main centres are in Auckland and Wellington. The New Zealand churches are doing all they can to help the islanders in their midst, but it seems to me that there is a strong case for further grants from the missionary societies to assist the New Zealand Union in dealing with a problem which has been thrust upon them and which they cannot deal with adequately by their own unaided resources. The Union also asks for other representative visitors. Isolation and its weakening effects are most obvious in New Zealand and, in view of the growing importance of the position it occupies in the Pacific, a long-range view would suggest that it should take a greater place in the thought of Congregationalists in the English speaking world.

South Africa

The visit to South Africa lasted two months and took me to the main centres in the Union, visiting the European, the coloured and the African churches. It is amazing how much missionary work has been done under the aegis of the South African Union which comprises churches with a European membership of about 3,000.

The racial question overshadows the whole of South African life, but the fellowship between the races in Congregational organization is an oasis in the desert of separation for the coloured and the native peoples. Organized into churches along racial lines —the only possible lines at the moment—ministers and members of the coloured and African churches meet on terms of equality

with Europeans in the annual assemblies, where of course they are in a majority. It is significant that in the discussions about union with the Presbyterians some years ago, one of the decisive factors against union was the opposition to it of the coloured churches. They were clearly nervous that their place in the Church might be affected adversely if union took place. My feeling is that the equality of races in the assemblies of the Union may probably lead to the same result in future discussions—the kind of situation which invites thought. There is no shortage at present in the number of ministers, but the comparatively small number of candidates for the ministry is a matter of real concern. It is obviously associated with the small European membership of our churches, and the South African Union realizes that advance in this direction is urgent. The problem of a trained coloured and African ministry is a great one, and for the moment European help in this direction will continue to be needed, especially in the great coloured churches, with their large numbers of out-stations. Unfortunately the training of the African ministry had to be severely limited when the C.M.S. was forced to cut its grant to South Africa. My hope is that new resources may be found to enable the grant to be restored, and I am confident that if the churches realized the missionary call in the appeal and particularly in view of dangerous racial tension, the resources would be forthcoming. There is no area in the world today in which an adventurous Christian witness is more deeply needed than in South Africa.

There is a problem of co-ordination in Congregational work in South Africa which calls for brief mention. I had the inspiration of contact with the work of the American Board and of the L.M.S. There are churches formed by the two missionary societies as well as by the South African Union, but there is no co-ordination between them and very little fellowship. The common talk is of South African Union (C.U.S.A.) Churches, L.M.S. Churches, American Board Churches. Many, probably most, of these churches do not realize at all that they have an affinity with the others. This is a weakness in any effort to give a united witness, and, further, it is neglecting the obvious duty of giving the African an elementary lesson in the Church and its fellowship. The Africans are independents run mad. In the book called "Bantu Religion" there is a list of about 1,000 African sects. At the moment we are not doing enough to counter that tendency. This is an urgent matter and it is good to know that a commission of six has been set up, representing the three strands of Congregational work in South Africa, to examine the whole question and try to reach a solution. South Africa needs all the help which we can give to it, and our fellow-Congregationalists there are upholding the conceptions of freedom and fellowship in Christ amid circum-

stances which are not too favourable to either of those two great watch-words.

Southern Rhodesia

We have only one ordained minister in a Congregational church in the whole of the territory, although at the moment we are making plans for a church in Salisbury, the capital. I had one meeting there, attended by the Governor General and his wife, and the outlook for forming a new church seems hopeful. It is a land of great promise and people are pouring into it from the Union of South Africa and from Great Britain. A long term policy would include the buying of favourable sites at this early stage but it is the resources to do so which are lacking. This is the need everywhere—faith, courage, and resources.

The whole subject demands not merely consideration but action. Our Congregational forbears take a great place in the early history of these countries and it must not be forgotten. Many of the pioneers whose names are remembered with honour, were men sent out by the L.M.S. and C.M.S. Their story needs to be written on a scale hitherto unattempted. The younger countries are not very careful about the preservation of historical material, and there is some urgency in putting that work in hand. It is in the later stages of the story that Congregationalism has revealed its weakness. A too rigid insistence on the autonomy of the individual church and a lack of organized fellowship, due in part to the vast distances and in part to a suspicion of anything savouring of centralization, has left us weak in comparison with the connexional denominations. Again and again I heard the story of lost opportunities and of causes too easily abandoned.

The failure to adapt our policy to new conditions is responsible for our present weakness and it is a lesson which ought to be taken to heart. And yet in spite of numerical weakness it remains true that Congregationalism exerts an influence out of all proportion to its numbers. The ministers, who have gone out from Britain in recent years, are doing a fine work and are determined that there shall be an end to the nerveless defeatism which was becoming all too common. The spirit of advance is in the air. We are called to be pioneers again. There are matters here which demand the thought of International Congregationalism. At present the I.C.C. is not allowed to appeal for funds. But most of the things suggested here depend upon resources both in men and in money. For the moment I must leave it at that point. I have been deeply privileged to be the representative of world Congregationalism to survey the situation and to meet our friends and comrades who, in face of great odds, are maintaining our witness. It has been one of the greatest privileges to do so. I should be sad if nothing but words resulted from it.

LAW AND LIBERTY IN PURITANISM

By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D.

In Hebrew religion, and in the Christian religion which has sprung from it, the problem of the relation between law and liberty has been recurrent and pressing. Are law and liberty incompatible or, on the contrary, mutually necessary? If God commands us, and punishes us if we disobey, how are we free? If Christ has made us free, are we no longer living under law? If, as may be argued, the Old Testament stands by law, while the New Testament offers us liberty, is the Old Testament superseded? Yet St. Paul also speaks of the law of Christ; and of the law of the Spirit of life. But the Spirit bloweth where it listeth; how then is there a law of the Spirit? In theology such questions can be puzzling as in philosophy are the problems concerning determinism and freewill. Those problems are found soluble in experience, so perhaps these may find an answer in devotion. Our present object, however, is not to wrestle for the answer. It is to see these problems at work in the minds of serious Christians in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there producing a ferment which in this country has permanently affected our conception of the Christian life, of Christian worship and church government and of the relations between the Church and the State.

The Puritan movement was a child of the Reformation. It has characters in common with earlier movements in Christian history, including those which were given a similar nickname; but in its own place in history it arose from the recovery of the Bible in a language which the common people could understand. The English Bible and Erasmus's *Paraphrases* in English, together with the English Prayer Book, made religion and worship intelligible and related them to everyday life. No longer was the Bible the private property of the priests, or its interpretation their preserve. The English Bible was directed to be read in every church, and men could have it in their homes without license or fear of penalty were it discovered. It was new, and they delighted to read it, or hear it read, to ponder its teaching for themselves and to discuss this with their friends. At first its impact as a document was sufficient: they were satisfied to read it historically, to treat it as a wondrous story, but no more. And at once problems were posed; for on the relation of law and liberty, as we have seen, Scripture speaks with many voices.

Soon, moreover, the more sensitive and conscientious among its readers found that it spoke to their hearts with a strange con-

temporaneity; found that they were invited themselves to share in Biblical religion, to enter into Biblical experience. In theological terms, the recovery of the Bible brought with it a recovery of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. " 'Word and Spirit' is the watchword of the Reformation", Paul Wernle has said; and in this Puritanism is true to its parent. But the introduction of the second term at once complicated the problems already present in the minds, now often untrained minds, of those searching the Scriptures for themselves. The relation between the Word of God spoken outwardly in Scripture and the Word of God spoken inwardly by His Spirit is one aspect in which, for the Puritans, the relation between law and liberty presented itself.

Hardly at first, however. The clash came first on a more mundane level, where for Christians it had often come before, between freedom of conscience and the law of the State. The world in which the Puritans grew up, was still nominally a *mundus Christianus,* with the State and the Church ideally one. But the ideal was breaking down—not so much, perhaps, because the sixteenth century was a century of "religiosity divorced from morality",[1] as Mr. Parker would have us believe, as because the Word of God was proving a sharper divider than any two-edged sword, and was revealing who were serious in their Christian profession and who were not. The Elizabethan Settlement might satisfy the more conventional, and pious magistrates and ministers of the Queen might endeavour to honour it. Many Puritans thus continued to hope for further reformation from within the Established Church. But the tying of the Church to the wheels of the State was bound to act as a brake (as it still does: think of Charles Gore), which to the more ardent spirits became intolerable. In 1582 Robert Browne published *A Treatise of Reformation without tarying for Anie, and of the wickedness of those Preachers, which will not reforme till the Magistrate commaunde or compell them.*

> They saye, the time is not yet come to builde the Lordes House, they must tarie for the Magistrates and for Parliamentes to do it. . . . They teache that a lawefull Pastour must giue ouer his charge at their discharging, and when they withholde the Church gouernement, it ought for to cease, though the Church goe to ruine thereby . . . doe they not pull downe the heade Christe Iesus to sett vppe the hande of the Magistrate? yea and more than this, for they firste proclaime the names and tytles of wicked Bishoppes and popishe officers, and the Lordes name after: Seeing also the Bishoppes must discharge the lawfull Preachers, and stoppe their mouthes, though the Lorde God haue giuen them a charge for to speake, and not to keepe silence. . . .

[1] T. M. Parker, *The English Reformation to 1558,* 1950, p. 18.

> Ye will haue all aloft, by ciuill power and authoritie: you are offended at the basenesse and small beginnings, and because of the troubles in beginning reformation, you will doe nothing. . . .
>
> The Lords people is of the willing sorte. . . . For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will driue vs to seeke the Lordes kingdome.[2]

This was revolutionary teaching. Of course it was the power of man that should drive men to church, and to their parish church and no other, on penalty of a fine which rose as the opposition to it increased. The Puritans clung to the doctrine of the godly prince. Yet a clash between the rights of even the godly prince and the crown rights of the Redeemer was always possible in theory. In troubled times it was rarely long in coming. Browne conformed after much suffering; but others with his convictions were put to death. They died as loyal to the Queen as the Roman Catholic Sir Thomas More had died loyal to the King. Yet those responsible for government were not astray in smelling potential disloyalty. Fifty years later Puritan action led to the execution of the King, as fifty years after More's death some Roman Catholics were attempting the Queen's assassination. The *Short Treatise of Politique Power,* by John Ponet, Bishop of Winchester in Edward VI's reign, a work which defends tyrannicide, was reprinted in 1639 and again in 1642. The question, Is tyrannicide sometimes right for a Christian? is a question which unfortunately we understand better than our fathers did.

For most of the radical Puritans their revolutionary teaching led not to revolutionary action, but to suffering: suffering for disobedience to the law; for disobedience to the law of men in order to preserve freedom to obey a higher law; but still for disobedience to the law. This is something of which no Christian can be guilty lightly; but Richard Baxter may speak for many who disobeyed, though they could not all express themselves with the clarity and simplicity which he used of a famous occasion.

> When the Plague grew hot, most of the Conformable Ministers fled, and left their Flocks, in the time of their Extremity: whereupon divers Non-conformists pitying the dying and distressed People, that had none to call the impenitent to Repentance, nor to help Men to prepare for another World; nor to comfort them in their Terrors, when about Ten Thousand dyed in a Week, resolved that no obedience to the Laws of any mortal Men whosoever, could justifie them for neglecting of Men's Souls and Bodies in such extremities; no more than they can justifie Parents for famishing their Children to death: And that when Christ shall say, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these, ye did it not to me, It will be a poor excuse

[2] *op. cit.* ed. T. G. Crippen, 1903, pp. 18, 21, 25.

> to say, Lord I was forbidden by the Law. Therefore they resolved to stay with the People, and to go in to the forsaken Pulpits, though prohibited, and to preach to the poor People before they dyed; and also to visit the Sick, and get what relief they could for the Poor, especially those that were shut up.[3]

To-day we repudiate compulsion in religion and accept in its place the voluntary principle. We also claim to respect minorities and to recognize the right of conscientious objection. It is proper that we should remember how much suffering was involved in the struggle through which these positions have been established: the more so since the area in Europe where they are honoured even in name grows steadily smaller.

If we ask, By what authority did these men act? What was the higher law in obedience to which they disobeyed the law of the State? the answer, in a word, is that it was the law of God in Scripture. The law of the Church was gone: in the universities the academic study of canon law was prohibited, even—"the fylthye Cannon lawe,"[4] as the charter of a Separatist church in London in 1571 calls it. But some law there must be. The sheet-anchor of early Puritanism was that Scripture contained the law of the Lord: a model or pattern for all life, social and national life as well as ecclesiastical, down to the smallest details of the individual's personal behaviour. In the sphere of church government Cartwright and Saravia might wrangle over the question whether presbyters or bishops ruled by divine right; but that there should not *be* a *jus divinum,* and that founded in Scripture, was unthinkable. In the same expectation Congregationalists sought to justify their church covenants, and Baptists their believers' baptism, from the law laid down in Scripture. If these things could be proved to be Biblical, the duty to observe them would not be questioned.

At the same time the moral demands found in Scripture grew ever stricter and more precise; till a system of casuistry was needed, evolved and put into use. *The Practice of Piety,* by Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, first published *c.* 1611, by 1630 was in its twenty-fifth edition. In *A Christian Directory,* published in four parts, containing over 1,200 pages, Richard Baxter enumerates fifteen reasons why it is better to avoid stage-plays, though he will not have the going to see them called a sin.[5] In these easy-going days we smile at churches which took their witness to the world and their responsibility for one another so seriously as solemnly to record in the church book that one member had been admonished for threatening to blow his brother's brains out, and another for

[3] *Reliquiae Baxterianae,* ed. M. Sylvester, 1696, iii. 6.

[4] Albert Peel, *The First Congregational Churches,* p. 32.

[5] R. Baxter, *Practical Works,* ed. W. Orme, v. 482.

walking over new mown grass.[6] But here again, though their sense of proportion may have been faulty, we have learned to accept the principle they proclaimed. We no longer seek an infallible law in Scripture, and in the performance of what commands we do find there we think it right to leave considerable liberty; but we agree that Christians must bear their witness to the world, and that they have a responsibility for one another within the local congregation.

This freer attitude towards Scripture and towards life began to appear, in fact, within Puritanism itself. The Sabbatarianism, long sermons, psalm-singing, fast-days and rigid morals which developed came to seem as much a piece of legalistic paraphernalia or abracadabra as the masses, penances and indulgences of unreformed Roman Catholicism had seemed. "O such a one doth great things", says Walter Cradock, the minister of the Congregational church at Llanvaches in Monmouthshire, "he prayes, and hears, and reads, and disputes much; I [Aye] but hath he the spirit, or no?" "I fear our fast dayes are the most smoky dayes in God's nostrills of all the dayes of the year": In a work entitled *Gospel-libertie,* published in 1648, he says:

> It is convenient to pray at all times: but if you make it an absolute law, there will be guilt upon your conscience when you omit it, though the occasion be never so great. Labour to know your Christian liberty.
>
> Remember, the greatest miserie to an honest heart (next to an Old Testament spirit, that is the rise of all) is this, a misdrawing of rules out of the word of God: you take a word and doe not compare it with other Scriptures, and see whether it be temporarie and doth absolutely binde: but you goe with your book under your arme, and think all wise men are out, and you have Scripture for it: beware of that.[7]

Cradock, and those who thought with him, accepted the truth that the newly regained freedom of the Christian man was a trust and a responsibility which he might not demit. In principle, the Congregational and Baptist churches today stand where he stood. Thus in public worship it is possible to pray without relying on the forms printed in the Prayer-Book, to pray more freely in dependence on the help of the Spirit of God, whose strengthening of our infirmities has been promised us. As Cradock puts it, with feeling:

> When it may be the poore Ministers soule was full of groanes, and sighs, and he would have rejoyced to have poured out his soule to the Lord, he was tied to an old Service-Booke, and must read that till he grieved the Spirit of God, and dried

[6] See extracts from the church book of Rothwell Congregational Church, printed in N. Glass, *The Early History of The Independent Church at Rothwell,* 1871.

[7] W. Cradock, *Divine Drops Distilled,* 1650, pp. 209, 4f.; *Gospel-libertie,* 1648, pp. 53, 58.

up his own spirit as a chip, that he could not pray if he would; and he must read it for an houre together, and then it may be come into the Pulpit: but his spirit was gone.

Equally, in the sphere of church government, ordinary Christians, when gathered in Christ's name, are able, and must be free, to discover His will and to perform it. To quote Cradock once more:

> It is base to tie a son as much as a servant. So we being now to be sonnes, truly and really, the Lord hath given us a larger liberty.
>
> What an abominable thing is it to tie the sonnes of God that are not babies, now under tutors, with paltrie things, when the Spirit of God in the least Saint is better able to determine than all the Bishops.[8]

The Puritans are often thought of as men of the Old Testament rather than of the New; but among the more radical Puritans Cradock's warning against an Old Testament spirit is not unrepresentative. The position of another Congregationalist, John Owen, who during the Commonwealth was Dean of Christ Church,Oxford, and for five years Vice-Chancellor of the University, was a good deal to the right of Cradock's; yet, as James Moffatt observes in his study of him, "Owen displays comparatively little of that undue predilection for the Old Testament which often threw practical Puritanism out of gear, owing to the obvious fascination exercised by the Jewish Scriptures on men who sought a model for the moral and civil government of a nation. Owen's interests are in the New Testament".[9] The conservative Puritans would, indeed, feel thoroughly at home with the recent stress on the unity of the Bible and on the continuity of Israel with the New Israel which was the Church. The more radical were inclined, as they have been throughout Christian history, to see the two Testaments more in antithesis. Here is a passage in defence of believers' baptism, drawn from the church book of the Baptist church still at Broadmead, Bristol. The writer complains that paedobaptists

> will have ye Same Law of entrance into ye Church under ye Gospell Administration as it was under ye Law. Because all ye Children of ye Nation of ye Jews had a Right to both ye Seals under ye Law, namely Circumcision and ye Passover, therefore they argue that Children under ye Gospell administration have a right to Baptisme. Yet they themselves will not graunt them a Right to ye Lord's Supper, though under ye Law they had a right to ye Passover; which doth confute themselves, in their keepeing them from one of ye Seales, and not from both, as they should untill they professe their faith in Christ; for soe is ye Law under ye Gospell administration, *If thou believest*

[8] W. Cradock, *Glad Tydings from Heaven*, 1648, p. 29; *Gospel-libertie*, 1648, pp. 18, 48.

[9] J. Moffatt, *The Golden Book of John Owen*, 1904, p. 48.

> *thou mayest,* Acts viii. 37; it being changed from what it was under ye Law. . . . But there is not a change of ye Moral Law, for that abides as a rule of life for conversation to all generations.[10]

It is no matter for surprise if accompanying this freer attitude to the Old Testament, and sometimes to the element of law in religion, went a strain of antinomianism in the doctrinal sense. A useful guide here, out of much controversial literature, is a small and moderate work from the conservative and disapproving side published in 1643 by John Sedgwick, Rector of St. Alphage, London Wall, and entitled *Antinomianisme Anatomized. or, A Glasse for The Lawlesse: who deny the Ruling use of the Morall Law unto Christians under the Gospel.* Like many works of its time, it is written in the form of a discussion, in the manner which *The Pilgrim's Progress* has made familiar to us. The characters are three: Nomist, Antinomist and Evangelist. Antinomist opens by declaring:

> I hold all the Ministers in London, yea and of the whole Kingdom to be but Legall Preachers; for as yet the Light is not revealed to them, and they neither do or can tell how to Preach Jesus Christ, or advance the free grace of God in Jesus; they in their Preaching do hold men to the direction of the Law; tell them that there is an use of it, not onely to unbeleevers, but beleevers; they presse men to dutie, make them Dutie-mongers, as if that Christ had not done all for them.

Nomist challenges this with some passion, and welcomes into their company Evangelist, who explains, more moderately and at length, how "the liberty from justification by the Law, doth not destroy, but increase and stir up the obligation of, and obedience to the Law". Only, he warns Nomist:

> I would have every Minister wary in Preaching the Law; The Chyrurgeon that launceth, may do as much hurt as he that doth not use the Instrument at all; Such as Preach not the Law at all may make dead and loose hearers, and such as Preach the Law too far may make desperate hearers. The golden mean is to be observed; The thing I would do is this. 1. I would not have the Law to be Preached alone by it self, without a mixture of some of the Promises of the Gospel; The fire hath its heat and light, and a Minister should have both Law and Gospel in his mouth. 2. I would have the Law to be Preached, as it was published, for Evangelicall and mercifull intentions and purposes; not for destruction and desparation, but for edification.

Nomist agrees, but urges that "whereas we have one tender broken-hearted hearer, there are a thousand stubborn-hearted men and women, who need the hammering of the Law".[11] This was also

[10] E. Terrill, *Records of a Church of Christ meeting in Broadmead, Bristol,* ed. N. Haycroft, 1865, p. 34.

[11] *op. cit.,* pp. 1, 26 ff.

the conviction of a later Puritan, Giles Firmin, the ejected Vicar of Shalford in Essex, who in a work entitled *The Real Christian,* published in 1670, urges the need of "Axes and Wedges" "to hew and break this rough, unhewn, bold, yet professing Age". To discover to men their sinful state, the Law must still be preached, though "of late years this kind of preaching is laid by"; "to convince men of sin by the Gospel *first*", he says, "this I look upon as very irrational and immethodical".[12]

According to Baxter, "The Antinomians were commonly Independants".[13] This may be held an exaggeration; but the more radical Independents were not alarmed by the charge. In *Antinomianisme Anatomized* Evangelist makes the sensible distinction between "two sorts of Antinomians. One Doctrinall" and "Another practicall".[14] In *What the Independents Would Have,* published four years later by John Cook, who under the Commonwealth became Solicitor-General, this distinction is taken up. "If an Antinomian doctrinall doe not prove an Antinomian practicall", says Cook, "hee (*i.e.*, the Independent) thinks some of those opinions are very comfortable, and learnes hereby, not to exalt duty too much, but to study free grace the more, and believes that the Doctrine of Justification and satisfaction, have never been more cleerly taught than by them that have been so called".[15] We noticed earlier the Bristol Baptists' similar care to distinguish between the ecclesiastical law which they held abrogated and the moral law which abides as a rule of life to all generations. Unfortunately, Antinomians doctrinal did sometimes become Antinomians practical, or Ranters; for "a Ranter", wrote John Goodwin in 1655, "is nothing but an Antinomian sublimated".[16] Of the Ranters William Penn says:

> they interpreted Christ's fulfilling of the law for us, to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required, instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance; and that now it was no sin to do that which before it was a sin to commit, the slavish fear of the law being taken off by Christ, and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it was so. Insomuch that divers fell into gross and enormous practices;[17]

For the understanding not only of Quakerism but of the whole inner articulation of Puritanism there are few documents more helpful than Penn's preface to George Fox's *Journal,* published in 1694, from which these words are quoted. His sketches of the different

12 *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 51 f.
13 *Reliquiae Baxterianae,* i. 162.
14 *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f.
15 *op. cit.* p. 11.
16 J. Goodwin, *Catabaptism,* 1655, pref.
17 W. Penn, preface to G. Fox, *Journal,* 1901 edn., i. xxv

parties within Puritanism are all shrewd; but his reference to the Ranters has an added piquancy from the fact that of the Ranters, as Fox remarks, "ye people of ye worlde said they was Quakers",[18] and not the people of the world only, but Baxter and Bunyan also. "The very opinions that are held at this day by the Quakers", wrote Bunyan in 1657, "are the same that long ago were held by the Ranters. Only the Ranters had made them threadbare at an alehouse, and the Quakers have set a new gloss upon them again, by an outward legal holiness or righteousness".[19] The identification was untrue and is confusing. We may attempt to place early Quakerism more fairly in its relation to law and liberty.

For this we should recall not only the Sabbatarianism and ecclesiasticism of early Puritanism but also its demand for a strict and rigid morality in private life. Too often this led to an anxious introversion, and this to melancholy and mopishness, until troubled consciences came to be as much a burden as the young Luther's had been. "I have known one eat but one meal in a week", says Walter Cradock; "and let them eat little or much, they defile their consciences. One while they must go so in their apparel with lace, and after that, lace damneth them".[20] This state of strain and anxiety was to prove one seedbed of Quakerism. In Baxter's shrewd words, "No person more fit for a Quaker, a Papist, or any sectary to work upon, than a troubled mind".[21] Scrupulosity, if wound too tight, eventually, and suddenly, springs back, or out into a new freedom. There is a revealing passage in the *State Papers* about Margaret Fell, the nursing-mother of Quakerism, as she has been called, and later the wife of George Fox, that "she is one that is past the cloud, and hath liberty to wear satins, and silver and gold lace, and is a great gallant".[22] Thurloe's informant here was writing with his tongue in his cheek; but "one that is past the cloud", could hardly be bettered as a description of an early Quaker. Another Puritan group, now forgotten, was known as the Manifestarians, because, following *Romans* viii. 19, they awaited the manifestation of the sons of God. Them the Quakers eagerly challenged to disputes, for in Quaker experience men believed that the kingdom of God was come. In modern jargon, theirs was a realized eschatology: "then are the children free", and free already.

About the beginnings of Quakerism there was something of what has been called "the ranter swell"[23]; there were even occasional outbreaks of immorality, as in the case of Christopher Atkinson,

18 G. Fox, *Journal*, ed. N. Penney, 1911, ii. 125.
19 J. Bunyan, *Works*, ed. G. Offor, 1862, ii. 183.
20 W. Cradock, *Divine Drops Distilled*, 1650, p. 44.
21 R. Baxter, *Works*, ed. W. Orme, xii. 500.
22 J. Thurloe, *State Papers*, ed. T. Birch, vii. 527.
23 A. Gordon, *D.N.B.*, *s.v.* G. Fox.

whom Fox bluntly calls "yt dirty man".[24] But Fox and the other leaders took care to check their followers' temptation to run out into imaginations, after the fashion of the Ranters, by constantly urging them "to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith". A comparison of the Quaker doctrine of *measure*, in its charismatic context, with the connotation given to *canon* in Catholic usage is an inviting field for study. With regard to Scripture, the Quakers followed the Baptists in seeing the two Testaments in antithesis. Their literal and complete acceptance of Christ's words in the Sermon on the Mount compelled them to take this position. In Fox's words:

> I shewed ym ye types & figures & shadowes of Christ in ye time of ye law & shewed ym how yt Christ was come yt ended ye types & shadows & tyths & oaths & denyed swearinge & sett uppe yea & nea Insteade of it & a free teachinge: & now hee was come to teach people himselfe:[25]

Alongside this passage must be set another, from a tract published by Fox and James Nayler in 1654, with the title *A Word from the Lord, Unto all the faithlesse Generation of the World.* In this the Ranters are addressed thus:

> You had a pure convincement, I witness, which did convince you; but having fled the Crosse, and now to it are become enemies, . . . you never come into the Sons doctrine; had a convincement under the law, then start up to be as Gods; and never came through the Prophets, nor Moses house, nor Christ who is the end of all oathes.[26]

While insisting that Christ had ended certain Old Testament usages, the Quakers saw the wisdom, indeed the necessity, of coming "through the Prophets", if "the Sons doctrine" was ever to be reached. They did not repudiate the Old Testament, but saw it as introductory to the New Testament, introductory in our experience as well as in history, our *Paedagogus*, as St. Paul calls it. The moral law they then magnified rather than belittled. Throughout Fox's *Journal* the term "Christianity" is used with a strongly ethical connotation, as something which rude people shame by their drunkenness and violent behaviour and persecution. Outwardly, the first Quakers were thus at one with the earlier Puritans in observing, as Baxter admits, "a Life of extream Austerity".[27] But inwardly, the spring was different. A passage often quoted or referred to in early Quaker apologia is the last two verses of *Romans* ii: "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew,

24 G. Fox, *Journal*, ed. N. Penney, 1911, i. 187; the words were omitted from earlier editions of the *Journal*, though Penney has neglected to insert the square brackets inserted elsewhere to indicate passages so omitted.

25 *ib.*, i. 256.

26 *op. cit.*, p. 13.

27 *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, i. 123.

which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart". It was words spoken from this text by Fox which first "convinced" Margaret Fell; and when at the end of the century a uniformly sober dress was first being demanded of Friends, she would have none of it. "We are now coming into Jewism", she protested; "Legal ceremonies are far from gospel-freedom. . . . It's the Spirit that gives life".[28] Inwardly, that is, the early Quakers walked at liberty, as those for whom the law was no longer law, because they loved it. So today the Quakers' testimony against war, for instance, is seen by themselves not as testimony to an idealist law which leads inevitably to despair, because it cannot be fulfilled; they believe rather that the royal law of love is one of the new laws of the new age, which Christ's new men are made able and free and happy to obey.

This is a position at some remove from that of those earlier Puritans, whom Penn describes as being "rigid in their spirits". With it we may conclude our study. What we have seen has been a period of acute sensitiveness to the elements of law found in Scripture followed by a series of attempts by radical Puritans to reduce the sphere and the influence of law in Christian faith and experience, and to increase the sphere of liberty. All Puritans, conservative as well as radical, were a minority demanding further reformation, and thereby were forced into a certain degree of independence with regard to the law of the State. The Congregationalists and Baptists sought what they believed to be the implications of a fuller liberty of the Spirit in the form and government and worship of the Church. The Quakers found inspiration in freedom from a legal scrupulosity. All three groups tended to see the two Testaments as in antithesis and to show sympathy towards an Antinomianism doctrinal. The Ranters, or Antinomians practical, claimed liberty from the moral law. Many Puritans moved from one position to another, generally in the direction of a larger liberty. Some thought it right to stop at one point, some at another; as within the modern Free Churches we still do, though we are none of us Ranters. A Catholic may regard the story as illustrating the slippery slope which Protestantism becomes through the initial mistake of rejecting the known and definite law of the Church for what proves to be an uncertain law of the Lord written in Scripture and in the heart. It is probably truer that Puritanism reveals in little, but with some intensity, the same problems and the same variety of answers as are to be found in Christian history more at large.

[28] cf. W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, pp. 518 f.

THE CHURCH AND THE COMMONWEALTH[1]

A FOOTNOTE TO CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY IN MASSACHUSETTS

By Gaius Glenn Atkins, D.D.

The adventures and misadventures by which the braver part of John Robinson's Leyden congregation made their landfall at Plymouth need no re-telling. Nor do the organization and sailing of "Winthrop's *Fleet*". The *Fleet* and the *Mayflower* carried between them an epoch-making cargo, the better part of which was incorporeal, though with significant differences in their bills of lading. The *Mayflower* brought the self-sufficiency of the individual "gathered church". Winthorp's *Fleet* brought vestiges and anticipations of a more corporate ecclesiastical order. But what began in Plymouth supplied the basal pattern for the eventual legal status of Massachusetts Congregational Churches.

The Plymouth group had doubtful right under any charter to their fringe of the Continent. In the contemplation of English law they were mercantile adventurers under the charter of English traders. In their own contemplation they were a spiritual fellowship holding their true charter from the New Testament. Thereafter, they shaped their ways under the compulsions of need and loneliness and a prophetic instinct for building a society and a State. The names by which we now know and designate them were none of their creating, save that they knew that they were Pilgrims. They would not, to begin with, have called Plymouth a "town"[2], nor themselves Congregationalists. These were terms they came upon

1 This study is very deeply in debt to a book long out of print, *Buck's Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts* (till 1875), to the records of individual churches, and intimate knowledge of Congregational procedure growing out of pastorates in historic New England churches. It also attempts to indicate and summarize the changes in the legal status of Congregational churches since Buck's book was written.

2 In New England usage, "Town" has a specific and often confusing use. It is not as in current use a centre of population larger than a village. It is the ancient English township, legally organized as a moderate-sized geographical unit for local civic administration. The sovereign authority for these purposes is the "Town Meeting", open to all qualified voters, meeting statedly or on call. Any voter has the right of the floor on any question. Policies and taxes are decided by a majority vote. The executives of the Town are the Selectmen. With this simple machinery the immediate enterprises of the community are carried on with surprising self-control and wisdom. A typical New England Town meeting in action is democracy at its oldest and its best.

As this study also seeks to show, the New England "Town" long continued the old English administration of a Township as an ecclesiastical parish. Note also that in our Congregational usage an "Ecclesiastical Society" is a body legally incorporated to hold ecclesiastical properties and trusts, raise and disburse monies for the support of public worship, *etc.* Most of the older Congregational churches, particularly in New England, have had this dual organization. The English "to charter" is probably the equivalent of the American "to incorporate".

as they went on, shaped by use and wont. They adapted to a new world their disciplines and inheritances in the structure of English civil and ecclesiastical order, though with epoch-making differences. In both Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay the churches were geographically local groups, functioning religiously. Church and State, to adapt such spacious terms, were for them identical. And this not through any theory but through the simplest of liaisons; for each man was himself part of Church and State, citizen and communicant and citizen because he was a communicant.

I

In Plymouth their low building on the hill with a cannon on the flat roof of it, was their "Meeting House" for every need and occasion. Then geography enters. There could have been no density of population anywhere, but within a decade settlers began to spread out under the urge of a land hunger which was to carry their descendants across the continent. Their roads, to begin with, were only footpaths through a wilderness—and the meeting centres for their various businesses must not be too far apart. Districts, therefore, began to be legally set off, a slow and complicated business.

The necessities of pioneer life demanded 'nigh dwellers', near enough for mutual help in labour, sickness, birth, death and shared peril. The General Court, so late as 1679, required the Councils or County Courts "to appoint an able and discreet committee, at the charge of the people intending to plant, to view and consider the place, to direct in what form, way and manner such towns should be settled, having principal regard to nearness and convenience of habitation, security against enemies, more comfort for Christian enjoyment of God's worship, and civility with other good ends". A colonial ordinance limited the boundaries of seaboard towns to eight miles inland and these prescribed distances governed the succeeding movements inland. The "centres" of Massachusetts towns still average about eight miles apart and, driving through lovely country roads, one is never long out of sight of the steeples of white churches beneath the elms, which lead from horizon to horizon. An Ordinance of 1638 made the support of public worship obligatory; a provision which, in theory at least, lasted almost two hundred years. The Congregational churches were the designated beneficiaries of this system, and in the contemplation of Massachusetts law Congregationalism was the State established church until 1834.

There must be ministers, of course, but the churches were free to choose them. Every church, by an Ordinance of 1641, "hath free liberty of election and ordination of all her offices". Later Ordinances (1780) confirmed this more specifically: "Towns, parishes, precincts and other bodies politic or religious societies shall at all times have the right of electing their public teachers and contracting

for their support and maintenance''. By this time the parish, or its ecclesiastical equivalent, must sanction the vote of the church before the minister became the pastor of the church and the minister of the people. A flexible use of now technical terms confuses the records. Apparently, to begin with, ''church'' is used in what the communicants believed to be the New Testament sense, the ''gathered'' body of confessed believers with such simple properties as they needed.

II

The Ordinance of 1780 indicates that legal distinctions between the church as a body of communicants and the Ecclesiastical Society have become definite in legislation and litigation. And to repeat, this dual control implemented by State legislation persisted and still persists wherever the financial support of public worship and the control of church property are vested in an Ecclesiastical Society, and with far-reaching complexity of results, desirable and undesirable. But the privilege of the non-communicant to approve or veto the church's choice involved financial responsibility. He must help to support the minister, and if he refused could be constrained. By an Act of 1811 voluntary religious societies were given a status in law.

If a part of the town seemed for any reason to need another church, making necessary ecclesiastical division of the town, it was legally and regularly done by the order of the General Court. So early as 1692, there are provincial statutes which control the division of the older units into precincts, parishes and districts. These terms seemed to have been used interchangeably, 'Parish' being a direct importation from England where the township itself was a parish for ecclesiastical purposes. Then the 'precinct' faded out of the ecclesiastical picture, and the 'parish' remained, though the word was not much in popular use, nor is it now often used in Congregational phraseology. Only one of the about six hundred Massachusetts churches in the Congregational Year Book of 1950 designates itself as a 'parish' church. It would be difficult to make this statement more precise, for we are dealing with processes and slow continuities through which date lines are not easily drawn. But in time the boundaries of parishes were ecclesiastically confirmed, their inhabitants made a body corporate, and foundations were thus supplied for a self-contained body into whose keeping the administration of church business and the holding of church property begin definitely to be entrusted.

This slow civil growth by proximity profoundly influenced the polity of American Congregationalism. Historically it has been a polity of propinquent churches sharing their ecclesiastical affairs. It has always worked best under such conditions, which is one reason why it found hard going in frontier regions of vaster distances.

III

The property of a parish as an ecclesiastical body was specified by law as early as 1652. All towns, beside being required to have a minister, were required to be supplied with a Meeting House and a parsonage, and all inhabitants to be taxed therefor, these taxes being levied by an equal and proportionate rate having respect to the lands and personal estates of those absent and those dwelling there.

The ministerial stipend then included a house and the usufruct of land set apart for the minister's use, much like the English glebe. He was thus given an early and very literal experience of the technique of rural minister. He became, on his installation, a "corporation sole" holding the title of the parish lands for the uses of himself and his successors. Upon his death or removal the "fee" is in abeyance until his successor is appointed.

The disentangling of town or parish action and individual enterprise in the creation of ecclesiastical property is beyond the province of this paper, and would require a very careful study of the records of the individual churches themselves. There must, from an early period, have been a conjoint action of voluntary gifts and public levy. So much is shown by a case brought up for litigation in the town of Newbury, where, if any persons enjoying the benefits of religious services refused against all right and justice to pay for them, and such as are "of the church" are not competent to bear the whole cost, a tax might be levied against the ungrateful who wanted their religion without charge.

IV

At whose charge were the Meeting Houses built? Mr. Joseph Hager, learned historian of the Town of Marshfield, says they were built by the auction of pews, a paradoxical process because there could be no pews until there was a building, and no building until the pews were sold. But there was a "Meeting House" in the Town of Scituate so early as 1634 of which Henry Jacobs' migrant congregation took possession when they came over in a body, having just been freed from jail. These first Meeting Houses must have been built of slabs laboriously sawn out and thatched with marsh grass or other accessible material, by the labour of the faithful, who were able to turn their hands to almost anything. It seems probable then that the earlier Meeting Houses in Massachusetts were built partly out of town or precinct funds, partly by voluntary contribution and partly by shared labour. So much the secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society substantiates.

In a later and more pretentious period they were built, by the sale of pews, on Georgian plans and scales, by most competent builders, and the results are still there for anyone to see—churches of beauty, and a joy forever. In time thorny questions arose:

who really owns the Meeting House? and to what proper purposes can it be subjected? So long as town and parish were one in the contemplation of law, the Meeting House was an asset of the town and could be and was used for general town purposes. Town and parish business was proposed in the same "warrant" and transacted in the same meeting. The first parish in Charleston had no separate organization for town and parish business till 1766, and New Braintree not till 1847. In Medford the town used the Meeting House for town meetings, Fourth of July celebrations, Sessions of Court, and conventions. The "Dedham Decision" turned the church out of the Meeting House. Other decisions turned the town out of the Meeting House.

Apparently by use and wont and general acceptance, without specific legislation, the parish became a 'quasi-public' corporation and so acquired a legal status, with consequent rights and responsibilities. It is difficult and somewhat risky to summarize, but in general the incorporated society or church which was the last issue of the long process, represents a slow separation of the religious and the secular, and with provision for the guardianship of church property and funds as these accumulated through bequests and trusts for a great variety of ends.

The power to incorporate "religious societies" or better, an ecclesiastical society, was always resident in the General Court but the societies were generally slow in seeking incorporation. In Boston the pew holders were the religious society, but prior to 1810 few parishes or religious societies along the seaboard were incorporated. Incorporation was for a long time secured by special acts of the General Court under the seal of the Secretary of State. There are now general and governing principles of procedure which are still rather complicated.

V

A surprising number of judicial decisions deal with church pews. In the contemplation of the English common law there is no personal property in pews. In Massachusetts, as we have seen, pews could be held and disposed of as real property. If not privately held or leased they were, in a more dignified period, allotted according to rank and social quality (a pew, probably of black walnut, on the centre aisle, and neither too far down nor up, was until very recently a badge of gentility). Held as real estate they came under the laws controlling real property, with one exception. They gave the owner no rights reaching to the centre of the earth, though theologically he may have lived in fear of going rather deeply and uncomfortably in that direction. His heavenward rights were not so limited. Pews could not be attached for debt, thus ranking with the debtor's Bible, clothes, tools, cooking stove and cow. Naturally the whole system was a breeding ground for litigation, which would be in itself a

fascinating subject of study. After 1811 it was possible for communicants of other than Congregational churches to claim a rebate of taxes for their own denominations. But it often cost more to get the rebate than it was worth. This long persistent ghost in Massachusetts of English laws taxing the unwilling for church support was a rather inconsistent procedure on the part of 'colonists of heaven' who had left England in part to escape such rigour. But there were modifications and adjustments slowly and unevenly granted. By and large Massachusetts dealt more justly and at an earlier date with the Anglican "dissenter" in the Commonwealth than, in England, the Anglican hierarchy dealt with the Free Churches.

By 1817 proprietors of Meeting Houses were allowed to regulate their own affairs by taxing the pews, which should mark the substantial end of taxing the town list for religious purposes and, finally, making the churches financially self-supporting and self-contained through their religious societies. But legislation as late as 1845 and 1852 dealt with the taxation of pews, and as late as 1900 the trustees of the Second Congregational Church Society in Greenfield, and other societies, were called "assessors", a vestige of the right they no longer exercised. But even then in the Greenfield parish any voter of the town, no matter what his religion was or whether he had any, by paying $2.00 and signing the parish records, could come into a parish meeting and vote a minister in or out.

Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church apparently inaugurated the dubious procedure of auctioning off the pews, the most desirable going naturally to the highest bidder. The prices paid and the competitive demand became, amongst other things, a test of a minister's power and popularity, including eventually his salary. Free pews, "assigned" pews, or 'sit where the ushers put you', are now generally considered more Christian than the rental system. But something has gone with the 'family pew' beside pride of rank and station.

VI

In Massachusetts ecclesiastical history the deacon held a place even more significant than in folk-lore. As has been said, before incorporation, the parish was a quasi-public corporation, and by Massachusetts law the deacons themselves were made or recognized as corporations, or quasi-public corporations, for the purpose of taking and holding for the church, in succession, all grants and donations whether real or personal property; which dignity and responsibility attached to them only *ex-officio*. They could, however, sue and be sued in cases of dispute over the ownership of church property, but they cannot, or could not, convey land or property without the vote of the church. And, in general, they must watch their financial as well as their moral steps. (The famous

Dedham case to which reference will later be made was a suit between two boards of deacons.)

This legal status of the deacons, devised apparently to give the law a *point d'appui* with the churches in a transition period, held until the 19th Century, and then gave place to specific incorporations. The time-lag in incorporating the "church", the body of communicants, was due in part, Buck explains, to the fact that churches of all denominations were sufficiently protected by statutes; that their application for incorporation would involve the General Court in credal and confessional disputes, a responsibility the General Court was loath to accept. Also the careful lawyers of 1780 still had in mind the terrors of the English Act of Uniformity[3].

VII

The Meeting House had usually a bell in a steeple, which might itself be very lovely, and there are a variety of court decisions involving the bell. If it were hung there by subscribers they might, if they so desired, remove it. A town clock, presented to the public as town property though hung in a church steeple, was under the authority of the Selectmen who paid for having it wound. When the town clock strikes the hours on the Meeting House Bell, there would seem to be a complex jurisdiction, which Father Time has resolved in most cases by just keeping on striking.

The Meeting House had not only the land on which it stood but precincts. In the early days, land, being plentiful, was generously allotted and the Meeting House lot might, therefore, be very spacious. Fifteen acres were allotted in Shrewsbury, for example, to remain "open, unfenced, and intersected by ways leading to the burying ground and two highways". In time these spacious holdings were variously disposed of. As cities grew around once village churches, some of them became the sources of opulent endowments, but the lovely "town centres" of Massachusetts, elm tree shaded and made pathetic by the memorials of so many wars, are largely what is left of the Meeting House lot.

The old burying grounds in Massachusetts were commonly a part of the 'Meeting House Lot' though they became in time the possession and charge of the town. But here also there is a no-man's land where the parish or church has deserted the burying ground and the town neglects it. These little plots with their gravestones half fallen and undecipherable behind lichened stone walls along winding countryside roads are rich in memory and pathos. There they rest from their labours who laboured so hard, now half-forgotten, but their works do follow them.

[3] All this bears very directly upon the proposed merger of the Congregational Christian and Evangelical and Reformed Churches. The Founding Fathers of the Congregational polity not only failed to make any provision for overall ecclesiastical authority, but were fearful of it, knowing what their forebears had suffered from it, and took very definite steps to keep their churches free.

VIII

Requests for, and recognition of, the advice and counsel of the churches of the vicinage, properly assembled and constituted, have been fundamental in Congregational polity. The legal status of the minister in relation to his supporting constituency, his call, induction or dismissal, were from the first the concern of a little State. The result was a tri-partite status in which the minister, the church or the parish and the Commonwealth engaged together through the agency of an Ecclesiastical Council.

It all began in Ipswich in 1650 in the matter of the triangle consisting of the Rev. John Norton, the First Church in Boston and the Ipswich Church. The church in Boston wanted the said John Norton to succeed the Rev. John Cotton, who, before his death, had an apocalyptic vision of the other John riding into Boston on a white horse. But the Ipswich church was not vouchsafed the vision and refused to part with their pastor, hence alarms and excursions and many details not here relevant. The whole matter came to the Great and General Court which was made cognizant of "breaches and discords in Ipswich church, which Ipswich people are not able to control". Whereupon the General Court, with a genius of common sense and sound instinct, desired twelve churches of the vicinage to send each two messengers to consider how peace and quietness could be secured. The Court also commended these said messengers of peace and quietness to the hospitality of Mr. Robert Paine of Ipswich, which Mr. Paine generously exercised and in due time rendered the colony treasurer a bill for twenty-four pounds, seventeen shillings and threepence. In this spirited way Ecclesiastical Councils began.

It could be argued also that, in this way, the Court made such councils its agent with delegated power to further the peace and concord of the churches which, for more than two hundred and fifty years, innumerable councils have on the whole effectively done. Their status, powers and limitations, were defined not so much by legislation as by a series of judicial decisions dealing mostly with the termination of pastorates and the minister's salary. But in 1779 there was a series of councils in western Massachusetts inquiring whether Mrs. Lorna Dean was properly suspended from the Stockbridge church because she married Capt. Tisby after having been warned that he was no proper person for a godly lady to marry. Drs. Belamy and Hopkins, who shared the Councils, were experts on God's foreknowledge and predestination, but they found the ways of women somewhat more difficult.

In general, though the Courts were ready to do what they could for the party in whose favour the Council found, there was really very little they could do. The devices of the Courts, "mandamus", "certiorari", "habeas corpus", "quo-warranto", do not apply to

the decisions of Councils, nor is there any resource in equity to compel a congregation to listen to a preacher if they do not want to. In plain English, "There is no power on earth, or under the earth, to compel a minister, a church, an individual or a religious society to accept the results of an Ecclesiastical Council".

But the findings of Councils did register, though sometimes with delays. And it is a tribute to the profound sense of law and order in the Congregational Churches that what awesome Ecclesiastical Courts and mitred hierarchies were not always able to do, was done for Congregationalists by assembling twenty or thirty representatives of neighbouring churches in a plain room, letting them confer together, asking the women to give them a supper, and after supper sending them home *sine die*. Also the guardianship of a minister's nigh dwellers have protected him. No charge of heresy could penetrate that defence if the group were so minded. And behind that shelter the wise and good have advanced Christian liberty without excess or abuse.

IX

This study has been confined to the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, but in the long last the Commonwealth has dealt fairly, wisely, and generously with all the communions within its borders. Out of the system whose development is here inadequately recorded, the question of the holding of church property, a perennial subject for legislation, resulted in one instance in a gross injustice. In a case known historically as the "Dedham case" the Court held that the ecclesiastical corporation, parish, or society took the entire church property and funds, even though it departed from the inherited faith for which the church historically stood. The Court held that the body of communicants separated from a parish lost its existence, and simply did not exist in the sight of the law, and under this finding, half the historic church fellowships in eastern Massachusetts were literally turned out of doors, losing meeting house, records and even their communion furnishings. The legal situation which made all this unhappily possible has since been changed, but in general the Courts will maintain the continuity of the corporation rather than the communicants, if they be not themselves incorporated.

The Ecclesiastical Councils depend upon neighbourliness and nearness. Where the distances are great and the churches few local Associations have taken over the function of the Ecclesiastical Council. And that procedure has resulted, even when the churches are near together, in a modified and so-far unlabelled Presbyterianism. Nothing, however, has fundamentally changed the autonomy of the individual church, however incorporated, and its control over its own property. Any change it may make in entering another communion, for example, must be taken by the specific

action of each individual church, an action which in Massachusetts is controlled in detail by statutory enactment under the authority of the Secretary of State.

An ecclesiastical history of Connecticut would in the main follow the same line, though Connecticut being near to New York was more influenced by Presbyterianism and far less affected by the Unitarian departure. But the pattern in the two States was substantially coincidental, though the Connecticut clergy did surrender their highly privileged status with more reluctance and more invective than the Massachusetts clergy.

Congregationalism in its western progress has so followed these general lines that its polities and procedures are uniformly recognizable across the continent. There has been, of course, a distinct growth in overall supervision, the limits of which are not yet clearly laid down. This tendency has evoked—I think the word is just—a kind of no-man's land between the local churches in their autonomy and their functions and actions as a denomination, which it is as impossible to define as to disentangle (Congregationalists have always specialized in compromise without pushing contradictions too far, and this is true of our present American polity), a region which might unhappily give rise to difficult and divisive litigation. The Founding Fathers of Congregationalism, and this is true of the Congregational polities generally, did not envisage an ecumenical Church, and thus left to their inheritors problems of adjustment which may need for their resolution time, wisdom and Christian grace.

TORONTO 1950

By Leslie E. Cooke, B.A., B.D.

In 1948 the eyes and ears of the non-Roman Churches were turned to Amsterdam, where the delegates from one hundred and forty and more communions gathered to begin a new enterprise in Christian fellowship and understanding. The eyes and ears of the non-Christian world were turned in curiosity, too, to that Assembly, alert for any sensational action or declaration which might come from it. Leaders of the Roman Catholic Church took notice from a cautious distance; the Moscow Patriarchate showed its awareness of the significance of the meeting by its subsequent doctrinaire criticism. Church groups to which the theology of the ecumenical movement was suspect showed their opposition in establishing a rival organization; while vested interests revealed their eagerness to pounce upon any action or statement which seemed to confirm suspicions which they wanted to prove that the World Council was 'red' or 'pink'.

Those of us who were present were aware that we were sharing in something significant in the life of the Church, although if we had been asked to define what it was we could not have answered very clearly. Our awareness was much more a matter of feeling created by the simple act of covenant by which the World Council of Churches was officially constituted, or by the rich, colourful, act of worship in the Nieuwe Kirke, but above all, perhaps, by simply being members of a great assembly of Christians gathered from all races, nations, churches, held together by a common loyalty to Christ.

Our recollections of Amsterdam are a confusion—flashing camera lamps, long and generally learned speeches, difficult and intricate group discussions, crowded lobbies, and life in a city prepared to celebrate the end of a long and distinguished reign and to mark the beginning of another.

To those who had been at Edinburgh in 1910 Amsterdam was the climax of years of thought and prayer and the realization of a vision. Joy was mingled with sorrow that some of the prophets and architects of the ecumenical movement had not lived to see this day. To others like myself, recently come to positions of responsibility in our communions and having our first experience of the ecumenical movement, Amsterdam meant entrance into a heritage but considerable searching of heart about what we were likely to make of it.

To my immense surprise, I found myself, though completely inexperienced and unversed in ecumenical matters, a member of the

Executive Committee of twelve and the Central Committee of ninety, and thus charged to share in the grave responsibility of fashioning the policy and engaging in the advocacy of the World Council of Churches. The Executive meets twice a year and the Central Committee annually. The Central Committee acts in the name of the Assembly between that body's five-yearly meetings.

Clearly in groups of this size, working together, praying together, engaging in continual consultation through correspondence, friendship and understanding are possible, and since there has been little change in the personnel of these committees since Amsterdam, such friendship has been developed. The courtesies, sensitiveness to varying convictions, and respect for varying points of view, remain, but increasingly, as befits friends, the truth is spoken in love.

In his report to the Central Committee at Toronto in July 1950, the General Secretary, Dr. Visser 't Hooft, to whose prophetic insight, vision, statesmanship, mental and physical vigour the World Council of Churches is inestimably indebted, was able to declare that we have many reasons for thankfulness. Among these he singled out especially:

A.—Between the Churches within the ecumenical fellowship there has grown up a basic Christian confidence such as did not exist forty or even twenty-five years ago. It is owing to this confidence that Churches have remained in relations of fellowship with each other in spite of very strong tensions between the nations or regimes in which they live. This confidence is a gift of God which we must receive anew in every new situation. It will be tested again and again. But we may rejoice in the fact that even in our generation we have discovered that the bonds of Christian fellowship are in fact stronger than the forces which would divide us.

B.—The isolated and struggling Churches, particularly the Churches surrounded by large hostile majorities, have found real and deep spiritual encouragement in the fact that they are part of a world-wide movement which cares for them and shares their burdens. It is a joy to find how very deeply personal visits of representatives of the World Council or the utterances of World Council leaders have been appreciated and are being used in such Churches.

C.—It has been shown that inter-Church co-operation is possible and vastly more effective than separate action by the Churches. In spite of difficult problems with which we have to cope in the field of inter-Church aid, it remains a fact that many Churches in the World Council have sought to perform their task of Christian solidarity together and that they have thus been able to meet the needs of the suffering Churches in a far more adequate way than in any previous crisis in Church history.

D.—There has been a remarkable inter-penetration of Christian thought. The isolationism of individual theologians or schools of theology has been broken through to a considerable extent. Christian thinking among both theologians and laymen is increasingly taking place within an ecumenical context. The result is that there is undoubtedly more convergence of theological insight than there has been for a long time.

E.—Another important reason for gratitude is that we are now able to speak out together on those vital issues of public life on which there is fundamental agreement between the participating Churches. Although the area of our consensus in this field is still limited, the Churches have already been able to render effective witness to the world and to the appropriate authorities on matters of vital concern to all Christians. There is increasing appreciation of the fact that this witness is truly representative of a vast body of Christian conviction and must, therefore, be taken seriously.

F.—Moreover, we have now, in the world Council of Churches and in the International Missionary Council working in close association with each other, an organizational structure for the ecumenical task such as has never existed before. Thus we are at least enabled to work continuously and systematically at the laying of the foundations and of the building of the ecumenical fellowship through ecumenical education, inter-Church co-operation, common study and witness.

He went on to say that the World Council must look to the future as a time of qualitative rather than quantitative advance. Although it is hoped that other Churches, particularly in Africa, may seek membership with the World Council, there is no likelihood of a considerable increase in the number of Churches associated with the Council in the immediate future. The finance and organization of the Council has reached the limit of its expansion in present circumstances, so that while new tasks may have to be undertaken they will have to find their place in the existing structure of the Council. "The next period should be one in which we seek to fill our movement with greater spiritual substance".

The General Secretary saw this qualitative advance taking place in certain ways, in putting inter-Church solidarity on to a permanent basis. The emotional appeal of post-war reconstruction is past; the important task of caring for orphaned Churches and orphaned fellow Christians remains; and in some cases, victory in the desperate fight of some Churches for survival depends upon the support of all the members of the World Council.

Qualitative advance will concentrate on getting the membership of the Churches committed to the ecumenical cause. All of us who are in the counsels of the ecumenical movement realize the importance of sharing the spirit of fellowship which exists in the conferences

of Church leaders and the ideals which they cherish with the members of the Churches themselves. There is at the moment a great gulf between what happens in these conferences of Church leaders and what happens at the level of local co-operation between the churches of a town or village. Unfortunately, local co-operation in this country, at any rate, tends violently to fluctuate amid the changing clerical and ministerial leadership of the local churches. Ecumenicity in local church life is far too dependent upon the interests and personalities of local clergy and ministers.

Dr. Visser 't Hooft went on to enumerate other aspects of qualitative advance in the stimulation of conversation between the Churches, in rendering our common witness more effective, and in demonstrating the inter-relatedness of Missions and Ecumenism.

There is no doubt that this report dominated the temper of the discussions at Toronto. The essential truth of the analysis met with an unquestioning response, and the discussions reflected the will of the members of the Committee to penetrate to the deeper levels of common experience and agreement rather than to push wider the boundaries of the fellowship in what could be no more than the interests of a rather vague, if Christian, goodwill.

True Christian co-operation in any circumstances can only be effective and lasting if there is understanding and unity of loyalty and purpose at the very deepest levels. This is especially so in the World Council of Churches. When Churches, many of which have not been on speaking terms for centuries, covenant with each other, then clearly some deep and common loyalty to hold them together must be discovered. If those Churches have differences in tradition, in the idiom of their thought, to say nothing of differences in language, then sooner or later the strength of the bond of that common loyalty is going to be severely tested. This in fact happened at Toronto. The representatives of the Churches began to penetrate to the deep level of loyalty which holds them together, and to bring out for scrutiny what hitherto had been assumed. At the same time they put the bonds of loyalty which held them together to the test by seeking to come to a common mind on issues about which initial discussion was likely to be divisive.

The penetration to the deeper level of agreement was illustrated in the discussion of a document on the ecclesiastical significance of the World Council of Churches, published in Britain by the British Council of Churches under the title of *The Church, The Churches and the World Council of Churches* (price 6d.). This document was prepared partly in response to questions raised by the Orthodox Church in Greece, partly because of questions from various quarters about the nature of the authority of the World Council of Churches, and partly because clear definition of the relationship of the Churches in the World Council of Churches was necessary in view

of the fact that the Council is continually meeting situations without precedent and undertaking new adventures in fellowship.

The document states a series of negations, declaring what the World Council is not—it is not a super-Church; it is not an organ for negotiating union between the Churches; it is not based on any one particular conception of the Church. It proceeds to a declaration of certain assumptions; for example, that conversations, co-operation, and common witness must be based on the common recognition that Christ is the Divine Head of the body, that on the basis of the New Testament the Church of Christ is one, and that membership of the Church of Christ is therefore more inclusive than membership of any one Church body.

Regarded objectively and in detachment, there would seem to be little to argue about in such statements, and most of them were accepted with a minimum of comment or amendment. The crux of the debate at Toronto, however, was the fourth assumption, which in its final amended form reads:

> (4) *The member Churches of the World Council consider the relationship of other Churches to the Holy Catholic Church which the Creeds profess as a subject for mutual consideration. Nevertheless, membership does not imply that each Church must regard the other member Churches as Churches in the true and full sense of the word.*
>
> There is a place in the World Council both for those Churches which recognize other Churches as Churches in the full and true sense, and for those which do not. But these divided Churches, even if they cannot yet accept each other as true and pure Churches, believe that they should not remain in isolation from each other and consequently they have associated themselves in the World Council of Churches.
>
> They know that differences of faith and order exist, but they recognize one another as serving the One Lord, and they wish to explore their differences in mutual respect, trusting that they may thus be led by the Holy Spirit to manifest their unity in Christ.

This paragraph made explicit what had been assumed, and immediately drew the fire of criticism. Members of the Orthodox Church, for example, do not recognize certain other Churches as Churches in the full and true sense, and Father Florovsky, in the course of the debate, stated this in courteous but firm language. Dr. John Baillie pointed out that the Orthodox Church was not the only Church which took up that position, and went on to add that the distinction existed not only between communions but across communions, since there are sections in the Church of Scotland, the Church of England, and in the Lutheran Churches which hold with conviction the same point of view.

It is difficult to convey the tension, the excitement, of this debate, and the general feeling that we were dealing with a situation which if mishandled would wreck the whole enterprise of the World Council of Churches.

The fact is that in the setting of the Church in the world, those communions which "unchurch" other Churches are minority groups, even if substantial minorities, in comparison with the great communions of the Baptists, Methodists or Presbyterians, who are strong in numbers, resources, and in spiritual vitality.

This situation added piquancy to the debate and was an influential factor in the discussion. I am not suggesting that right judgment is formed by counting heads or that the members of these great communions make play with the size and strength of their Churches to give effect to their arguments; but clearly, when a minority declares of a majority that the Churches the majority represents are not Churches in the full and true sense, then all the factors to make for tension are present.

The outcome of this discussion, however, was perhaps even more significant than the argument itself. The plain blunt statement of the fact that some Churches could not recognize others as Churches in the full and true sense was by common and unanimous consent allowed to stand. What compromise was called for and effected related not to the document itself but to its use, and accordingly it was issued not as a final and authoritative declaration but as a paper to be commended for study and comment in the churches. Perhaps the final paragraph is of the greatest significance of all:

> A very real unity has been discovered in ecumenical meetings which is, to all who collaborate in the World Council, the most precious element of its life. It exists and we receive it again and again as an unmerited gift from the Lord. We praise God for this foretaste of the unity of His people and continue hopefully with the work to which He has called us together. For the Council exists to serve the Churches as they prepare to meet their Lord Who knows only one flock.

We may say, then, after Toronto that the World Council has gone down to the deep level of essential unity, and if in the process it has shown up sharp differences and brought to light deep-seated prejudices it has none the less discovered something so precious that it will be reluctant ever to let it go. That essential unity, the unmerited gift from the Lord, a foretaste of the unity of His people, may yet have to be made more articulate and given clearer definition, but its reality is no longer in dispute.

The Central Committee not only ran into crises by examining the common loyalty which holds the member Churches together in the World Council; it exposed itself to potential crises by seeking to express a common mind on great affairs of the day.

The progress in fellowship and understanding achieved by members of the World Council, or rather, as I believe, given by God to them, is evidenced in the fact that at Toronto the Central Committee was willing and able to broach such difficult matters as the Korean situation, the threat to religious liberty by dominant religious groups, and the racial conflict, especially as it affects the policy of the Churches of South Africa. The very putting of these subjects on the agenda of an organization so young would itself have been a notable achievement. The fact that the Central Committee was able to come to a common mind and to plan bold and practical action is little short of miraculous.

The Korean situation was not on the originally circulated agenda, for the crisis developed there on the very eve of the Committee's meetings. Clearly, however, the gathering of representatives of Churches from all over the world would be expected to say something about Korea, but what? Committee members themselves were exercised in their minds concerning the handling of an event which seemed fraught with the possibility of starting a world war. To the majority of us in the West the issue may appear to be straightforward. The North Koreans were aggressors. The United Nations had been able in the extraordinary absence of Russia from the Security Council to take a decision and act upon it. This was a test case for the United Nations, and surely all men of goodwill, and the Churches especially, could rightly be called upon to endorse that decision and support that action. Discussion, however, in the World Council of Churches revealed that the issue was not nearly so simple. American judgment, apart from that of the pacifists, was clear and unequivocal. North Korean aggression was proved and had to be resisted. British judgment, if a little more cautious in expression, was virtually the same. But the leaders of the European Churches, especially the Germans, were not nearly so certain about the matter. There were two considerations which were pressed strongly by our Continental friends. One was theological. There is a strain in Continental theology which would declare that it is not the task of the Church to take sides in a political dispute, since the Church's rôle is to stand aloof and above a historical crisis, bringing both sets of protagonists under the judgment of the Gospel. The other consideration arose from the fact that Germany itself is a divided nation. Korea might be regarded, and was regarded by some of the German representatives, as a foreshadowing of possible events that could take place in Germany. The war in Korea was to be considered as a civil war for the unification of the Korean people, and therefore other nations had no right to interfere, since they would be parties to a perpetuation of a division of a nation if they did.

In the light of these circumstances it was remarkable that the

Committee came to unity in its declaration that an act of aggression had in fact been committed, that the United Nations was to be commended for its prompt resistance, that the enforced division of the Korean people is a threat to peace, and that the Korean situation need not necessarily prove to be the beginning of a general war.

The statement on Korea is a noteworthy document, indicating the heights of Christian statesmanship which can be achieved by a body like the World Council of Churches. To that statement was added a message to the Korean Christians and a prayer on their behalf for use in all Churches.

The next great subject, in the handling of which the strength of the World Council was tested, was the threat to religious liberty in lands where there are dominant religious groups. At Chichester in July 1949 a statement was made about the threat to religious freedom by political tyrannies, and an attempt was made by certain members to have written in to that declaration a paragraph concerning the threat to religious liberty by dominant religious groups. This proved unsuccessful, but the Chichester meeting did request that an inquiry be undertaken on this subject, and the results of that inquiry were presented at Toronto.

It is not difficult to see that it is easy for a group of Churchmen representing the non-Roman Churches to be forthright about the threat to religious liberty in lands where the Roman Catholic Church is dominant, or where some other religion, like Mohammedanism, is the national faith. Research into the subject, however, revealed that in certain lands where Churches were dominant which had membership of the World Council and representatives on the Central Committee, religious liberty was often threatened. This fact brought the discussion close home, but the Committee was led to a firm and unqualified declaration of its mind. It resolved:

(1) To declare its opposition to all practices by which governments, churches, or other agencies curb the exercise of religious freedom; to call upon the Churches to disseminate information and to take individual and collective action for promoting in their own countries conditions under which religious freedom may be fully practised; and further, to approve representation regarding infringements to governments or to the United Nations and to the religious authorities which have jurisdiction or influence in the countries concerned;

(2) to encourage the development of a comprehensive and co-ordinated programme of action, national and international, and thereby to pursue affirmative, preventive, and remedial measures for promoting the observance of religious freedom for all men.

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches also:

emphasizes the vital importance of incorporating within constitutions adequate guarantees of religious liberty;

welcomes the recent enactment of such constitutional safeguards in various countries;

urges all governments when drafting or amending constitutions or laws to secure for all people within their jurisdiction the fundamental right of religious freedom; and when adequate standards have been enacted,

stresses the necessity of bringing local administration and practice into conformity with them.

Not the least difficult of the subjects discussed by the Central Committee was that of racial relations, with special reference to the situation in South Africa, and the declared policy of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa to support apartheid. Much of this discussion took place in a closed session, and it would be inappropriate for a report to be given here, but a little imagination serves to help to understand how deep and complex this problem is and what a severe trial of Christian understanding it represents, especially when it is debated by spokesmen of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa and by leaders of the Negro Churches of the U.S.A. The climax of the debate proved to be a discussion of the constitution of a delegation which the Churches of South Africa were to be invited to receive from the World Council. The final decision is testimony enough to the spirit of the Committee as a whole:

AGREED: That if an invitation is received to send a delegation which is interracial, the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches shall accept and act accordingly. If the invitation does not refer to a multi-racial delegation, then the Executive of the World Council of Churches shall not refuse the invitation but refer it to the next meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in 1951.

The Toronto meetings, however, were not a sequence of crises, for the on-going work of the World Council of Churches was reported and approved. The Churches generally do not yet fully appreciate the contribution which is being made through the work of the Youth Department, the Committee for Work among Women, the Study Department, the Department of inter-Church Aid and Refugees, or the significance of the developing relations with the International Missionary Council and with the Churches of the Far East.

The Central Committee also looked forward to the next General Assembly of the World Council to be held in Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A., in 1953, and made the preliminary outline of the theme for the Assembly. Perhaps nowhere was the insight and wisdom of the General Secretary, Dr. Visser 't Hooft, more signally revealed than in his intervention in this particular discussion. Committee members

were agreed that Evangelism ought to be the main concern of the second Assembly, and the preliminary conversation turned mostly upon this subject. At the most appropriate time, however, the General Secretary intervened to point out that Evangelism is in fact the by-product or implication of a greater conviction. Accordingly he suggested the second Assembly ought to deal with the great assertion that Christ is the Lord both of the Church and of society. Under his leadership a resolution was passed declaring that the general theme of the second Assembly should be as indicated in the following statement:

> "The time has come when the World Council of Churches should make a serious attempt to declare, in relation to the modern world, the faith and hope which are affirmed in its own basis and by which the Churches live. The world is full of false hopes, of fear and of despair. Religious indifference is widespread. In the Churches, spiritual power and triumphant hope are not clearly manifest. Though there is much active evangelism, the old paganisms still maintain their power in many parts of the world, while on the other hand there are very few points at which the Church is breaking out of its isolation into the world of those who hold to such modern substitutes for the Gospel as communism and other political messianisms, scientific humanism, and certain forms of existentialism, or are indifferent to every religious or quasi-religious faith. The presence of secularism within the Churches is deeply marked. Now as always, man's greatest need is God's greatest opportunity. We think therefore that the main theme of the Assembly should be along the lines of the affirmation that *Jesus Christ as Lord is the only hope of both the Church and the world;* and that the subsidiary themes of the Assembly should be considered in relation to this central theme."

Toronto, then, proved how sure is the foundation on which the World Council of Churches is built; it reflected the developing understanding and comradeship of the representatives of the Churches; it showed, too, that in this organization God has given to the Churches a means whereby the strategy of Christian witness may be outlined in the light of which the various communions ought to be working out their own tactics.

Above all, Toronto proved to be one more piece of evidence of the truth that when men and women gather in Christ's name and seek His mind and will, He fulfils to them His promise to be in their midst to guide them by His Spirit.

Toronto was not just one more Committee. It was essentially a Christian experience.

THROUGH THE DARKNESS[1]

A LETTER TO FRIENDS ABROAD

By Gertrud Von Le Fort

(*Translated from the German by Henry and Else Ecroyd*)

I AM offering you no ascent into high places, but rather a glimpse into the abyss, a descent into the ultimate horrors of our world. The road through the darkness of which I write is the road trodden by the German people in the terrible years which have just passed. Should the prospect terrify you, let me say that I, too, find it terrifying. Yet let me also say at once that in spite of all its grim memories I would not have missed this dark journey. Of course, that does not mean that I should not have been overjoyed if the world—and my own people—had been spared this ordeal. But since it was not so spared, I can only say, seriously and fully aware of the pain of it, that I am thankful to have been in Germany sharing the common suffering. For the darkness has its glories as well as the daylight. There are flowers that thrive only in the wilderness, stars that are only to be seen on desert horizons. So, too, there are experiences of Divine Love which are only granted us in the hour of utter abandonment, yes, on the very verge of despair. I believe with many of my fellow Germans that we have gained something very precious from our experiences of those years. Once in our lives, through the dissolving rack of all human values, we have caught a glimpse of the eternal background of Divine judgment—a priceless gain, paid for indeed in the shatteringly painful experiences through which the transformation in our view of the world was brought about.

I shall try to tell you something of these experiences. You must remember, however, that I cannot paint a comprehensive picture, and I must ask you at the outset to dispense with misleading generalizations about "the Germans" and "Germany". Every nation is a complex of single beings, and remains such even in the days of a totalitarian system. Even in those days great contrasts were still to be found in Germany. It may thus be very easy for you, looking at the picture from another angle, to see aspects of it which are at variance with those which I am offering—and yet both pictures may be equally true. In times of anarchy, when the even tenor of existence is disturbed, there is no longer any "normal"; life becomes a matter of extremes. In the Germany of those days the most terrible happenings were mingled with the most touching,

1 German title: Unswer Weg durch die Nacht. Authorized translation published by permission of the Insel Verlag, Zweigstelle Wiesbaden, owners of the copyright.

the most brutal and the most noble deeds were done at the same moment, and the utmost reverence was manifest alongside acts of the most Godless abandon. While the synagogues were still burning the phrase was already coined recording the "Ehrentage der Münchener Hausmeister"—the Days of Honour of the Munich Hall-porters—who, when the Jews were forbidden the purchase of necessities, silently placed such goods outside the Jewish apartments in the blocks of flats in their charge. While unrestrained race hatred took possession of many Germans, there were others who went out of their way to give a kindly greeting to all fellow citizens whom they might meet wearing the Star of Judah. I myself, in the spa of Oberstdorf, once witnessed the struggle to secure burial for a Christian Jew in the place where his wife already lay, in resolute defiance of the order for his casual interment in a nameless grave. Germans set up the concentration camps and Germans formed a large proportion of their victims. There were Germans who allowed Russian prisoners to starve, and there were Germans who crept by night, on hands and knees, risking their lives to throw some portion of their own scanty rations over the barbed wire of the prison camps. Instances of these contrasts might be multiplied indefinitely. Thus I do not speak of "the Germans" in general, but just of those German experiences that have come within the purview of myself and my nearest friends.

Our first great surprise was to discover the unexpected fragility of what we had learned to think of as culture, civilization and the moral code. For a stable society provides no standards by which to measure the grimmer potentialities that lie hidden beneath its smooth surface. Yet Christ had warned us specifically against reliance upon the security of ordered prosperity. I am thinking of those revealing Gospel verses in which the Devil returns to the house from which he had been expelled and finding it swept and garnished makes its last state worse than its first. The Church also has left us in no doubt about the hazards in all human affairs. We had listened to her voice, indeed we had taken her words for granted, but at heart we could not bring ourselves to believe that vast outbreaks of unrestrained evil, cruelty, anarchy and persecution were still possible today. We were childish enough to believe that such things belonged to bygone centuries, for the modern world no longer appreciates the reality of the power of evil. We speak of injustice and of crime, but there are few who see that these simple human notions conceal a metaphysical vortex known to the Church as *mysterium iniquitatis,* the superhuman Power of Evil, mysterious but real. The non-Christian world scorns any such notion; it rejects the idea of the Devil along with that of God. It has thought that man had just to outgrow evil by the exercise of goodwill, imagination and the

qualities of personal character. But this is not the case. What we experienced in Germany was the disturbing fact that for very many people neither imaginative insight nor strength of character nor goodness of heart were able to stand up to tests of a certain severity; that their minds were confused by skilful propaganda and so made ready for acts of perfidy, or their natural fears exploited until they were made willing to shut their eyes. That this was so not only with unstable characters but also with otherwise decent and sincere people was just the fact that was so disturbingly unexpected.

In these matters the old fairy tales of our ancestors were wiser than we. The Devil accosting Man in disguise—for instance as a noble knight or a well-to-do merchant—persuading Man to a pact, which makes him rich, strong, invincible—until the day when the pact expires; that was just what we experienced.

I used to read a good deal in those days in those profound old fairy tales. I remembered them from childhood told in the beloved voice of my mother, and I found they were now among the very few secular books which I could still bear to read during the hours when the enemy bombers were passing continuously overhead and the horizon was lit with the glow of burning cities. I could still read them in the days filled with the awful awareness of the executioner's axe hovering over every head in Germany. As in so many other matters, our taste in books underwent a change. Many, including many books of religion, no longer held the meaning they had once had. Only those with some content of profound and ultimate value —very often books of the simplest character—held their place. Every vital book in my possession is forever charged for me with the meaning it bore for me then or with the absence of meaning which those times revealed.

To recognize the real metaphysical Power of Evil makes it possible to understand why we found it so hard to master the circumstances in which we found ourselves, a failure on our part which is apt to cause astonishment outside Germany. This astonishment is understandable in countries where the real nature of the demonic has not yet been personally experienced and where, in the main, judgments are made solely with reference to a moral code.

We used to comfort one another by handing on leaflets and scraps of paper containing significant sayings or poems which in one way or another spoke to our condition. Among them was a saying from Goethe's "Poetry and Truth". Goethe there describes the nature of the demonic exactly as we experienced it and concludes with the thought that Man cannot overcome it by his own efforts. That is the crux of the matter. It is not Man, but the angel of God, who casts the dragon of the Apocalypse into the abyss. Only the super-human can outmatch the inhuman. Recognition of this truth is the key to the understanding of those times.

The fate of individuals bore witness to the same truth. It was not always those of the strongest character or the best intelligence who withstood corruption. Nor was it always those who had appeared to be religious. Our conception of religion changed as our conception of Man had changed. Purely formal observances proved worthless. I watched many people give way and many people stand firm, in each case against all expectation. What was decisive was the presence or absence of a living bond with the Divine world, with the angel who dominates the abyss, with the Saviour whose strength is made perfect in weakness.

This brings me to the nadir of this journey of memory. It was just the vastness of the darkness, the experience of the terrible corruptibility of Man, which established the conditions for a wholly new experience of light. Please take this quite literally. As you know, an attempt was then being made to eliminate Christianity from Germany, so that we found ourselves back, as it were, in the epoch before the birth of Christ. Believe me, it was against the background of such darkness that we experienced the festivals of Advent and Christmas, for the first time perceiving therein the full meaning of the grace, love and mercy that Christ had brought into the world. We had been inwardly prepared to accept the miracle of Christmas in a deeper sense than we had ever been able to do before. One memory will stay with me for ever; when the sirens suddenly sounded during the Christmas Eve service no one in the packed, darkened Church moved. The most extreme danger was not permitted to interrupt the holy festival.

Many who had till then held aloof from Christ were now gripped by the desire for Him. I frequently heard moving confessions of this kind from non-Christians. We watched people who in no sense belong to the Church nevertheless taking part in the Corpus Christi procession. "In these evil times it is a great relief to show reverence for a higher power", I was told by one of these unfamiliar participants. Our churches were always full to overflowing. During the raids Christians in the shelters were again and again implored to pray aloud. The Catholic Church had empowered its priests to give absolution and the benediction to all baptized Christians; many non-Catholics sought and received them. One is tempted to dismiss such occurrences with the sceptical thought that they were just the outcome of fear—that fear inspires prayer. I prefer, however, to think of the lovely phrase of Brémond that danger tears open the gates to the deeper levels of the soul.

Another thing that changed during those days was the relationship between the denominations. In the common threat to their spiritual heritage those who were separated met together, not in a common confession, but in mutual love, and I do not believe this

will alter—we have been through too much together for that. Sadly enough there are many political and other feuds in Germany today, but not between the Confessions. In fact, in many cities the sense of unity is growing.

There were many among us who sought by prayer and self-offering to stand by those in other countries who were suffering at the hands of Germans. We felt this deeply. When a foreign poet whom we particularly esteemed wrote in our newspapers after the war that she could not yet forgive us because she believed neither in our consciousness of guilt nor in our repentance, I had to think of these prayers, for they had included her nation and her own person. From many quarters I was asked to answer her publicly. I did not do so. It seemed to me unnecessary that she should know of our prayers; it was sufficient that God had heard them and that she had been spared. Perhaps this will surprise you, but I would assure you that many of the charges of guilt which were indiscriminatingly levelled against us left us unmoved—not because we were proud or hard-hearted, but because God had laid His own judgment upon our people. He who has known the judgment of God is no longer much impressed by the judgments of men. But even under judgment we had found ourselves blessed, for God's judgments are at the same time punishment and a means of grace—which is not always the case with the judgments of men.

Our trust in God grew much more complete. This was the outstanding, indeed the irreplaceable, gain from the time in which all earthly supports had been taken from us. Of course we had believed in earlier days that we relied on God. But what does trust in God amount to when one can still count upon a well-ordered State, police protection, property, income and reputation? I know now that trust in God needs to be of quite another quality when there is nothing left but God to trust in; when every human protection has failed and you know that at any moment the roof may literally fall about your head; when at any moment everything dear and precious to you, everything which seems indispensable, may disappear; when, if you fall ill, you know there will be no hospital to take you; when you may any day be turned out of house and home and thrown upon the street; when you may be taken off in a cattle truck, with straw to lie on and no roof over your head, no one caring if you die of cold or starvation; when any day you may be arrested and done to death in the most horrible manner, though innocent, and denied the means to defend yourself; when at any moment you may get the news that your relatives and friends lie buried under the débris of their native town or have perished in the gas chambers. For at any moment such may be your fate. And if you escape all these perils, you must live the rest of your life under a cloud of

national guilt even if you took no part in the crimes perpetrated by your countrymen; perhaps you did what you could against them, yet you can never again know yourself to be the citizen of a respected and honoured nation. I wonder if you can have any inkling of what such a situation means? I could not before I experienced it. It means no more and no less than the question: what remains when everything perishes? In the end man's most precious treasure, his religious heritage, came under the same question, for it too seemed to be slipping away. Few Christian lectures and few Christian books or periodicals remained; only in its inner citadels of Holy Mass and the Sacraments did the Church really hold her own. And even here we had to ask ourselves: for how long? Even here the same question raised its head: what remains when all perishes? when one day the Church doors are found locked, receiving the sacraments made impossible, liturgy and sermon alike silenced; or when one day all the houses of God are turned to dust and rubble? And all along the line there could be but one answer: God remains. Christ, the Head of the Church, stands beside us even when all visible signs of His grace and all outward signs of His Kingdom have vanished. I cannot express the comfort that comes from this certainty when the world is breaking up before one's eyes.

I should like now to return to an earlier point. As in every catastrophe, among the wreckage of one's conception of humanity nothing remains but the certainty of an imperishable Divine Love. This wrought the final change in our outlook on life—our attitude not so much to the sin as to the sinner.

It often happens that those who have suffered the bitterest experiences are the most inclined to forgiveness and mercy, while the outlook of those less intimately affected remains much harder. Night prepares one for awareness of light; life among a de-Christianized people first teaches one fully to recognize the glory of Christ; the spectacle of uninhibited wickedness evokes a new attitude to Love—I might almost say a new love of Love.

One thing more: the nearer one stood oneself to acts of wickedness the better in the end one understood the temptations which lay behind them. Of course I am not now thinking of the active perpetrators of crimes, but of those many weak characters who made them possible by their silent compliance, without themselves taking part nor even approving of them. At the risk of misunderstanding let me say that I can to some extent sympathize with such weakness. For the new attitude towards people means also a new attitude towards one's own self. There comes to mind, for instance, the invitation to poets to write eulogies of Hitler. Many did so and now are despised for it. Those who wrote no eulogy think more kindly of them, for they know the deadly fear which accompanied their

own refusal. I am convinced that in the end all who pulled through did so in just the same way as the timid little Blanche in one of my stories, of whom it was said: "when they expected to see a heroine in her triumph all they saw was the miracle of weakness". Even strong men only came through like this, and those among them who are honest acknowledge it. Heroism stops short in face of torture and all that is then left is the strength that is given us from beyond. After coming up against all the grim potentialities of the human heart we no longer permit ourselves to gloss over human frailty; nor do we pass severe judgments upon it.

This brings me to the last point that is on my mind. Our new and highly sceptical attitude to Man naturally extends to our own nation. Our illusions, our pride in this nation—at least in regard to its present day achievements—have vanished; not so our love for it. That is deeper and stronger than ever. It has to be in some degree the love of Him who sat at table with publicans and sinners and who, in His own words, came to seek the lost. Among our gains from these past few years I count a new understanding of the meaning of Christian love. Most Christians, and I include myself amongst them, tend to restrict their love to persons whom they know to be estimable, upright and pleasing. Such love is true and right as a natural affection from one noble nature to another, but it still falls short of the love which Christian people should seek to show. Knowing all the shadows and abysmal depths of the human heart, and still to love it—that is the love of Christ.

That is the Christian love which I am asking from you towards my people. We owe much to your sympathy and goodwill in the days when we were an outcast nation. We still need this sympathy and goodwill if we are not to succumb to despair; this is a great danger in Germany to-day. For the horrible spectre of a false *Weltanschauung* has indeed been laid low, but the powers of darkness are not thereby vanquished. Real victory can come only through that Spirit which we call at one and the same time the Spirit of Love and the Spirit of Creation. It is this Spirit and this Spirit alone that makes and will fulfil the promise to renew the face of the earth.

A BOMBED CHURCH RE-BORN

By Wilfred Salmon, B.D.

A stranger passing along Tottenham Court Road on a Sunday morning between 10.30 and 11.0 will be surprised to see so many children. If he follows them he will presently come to a wide gap in the buildings, where in season a small garden is bright with flowers. Here the boys and girls turn aside down a flight of steps, and disappear through large doors at the far end of an asphalt playground.

Notice-boards inform him that here is Whitefield Memorial Church, though at first he may not see it. The low buildings on two sides of the playground bear little resemblance to the conventional place of worship. If he investigates further, however, and enters the doors through which the children are passing, he will discover a spacious hall adapted for use as a church, and other halls and rooms. The church is simple, but tastefully arranged. There is an unmistakable atmosphere of worship. He will quickly appreciate its homeliness.

These are the temporary buildings with which Whitefields faces the task of today. They are inadequate for the demands made upon them, yet many churches would be glad to have such bright and attractive accommodation, electrically heated, and illumined with fluorescent lighting. The kitchen, in particular, excites envy.

It was at 10.30 p.m. on Sunday, 25th March, 1945, that one of the last rockets to fall on London shattered the building familiar to thousands of Congregationalists. Opened by the Rev. G. Suttle in 1899, it was made famous by the ministry of Silvester Horne. (The original Chapel, opened by George Whitefield in 1756, was demolished in 1889, and temporary iron premises stood on the site until the erection of the new church.) Shortly after the V2 had fallen a casualty taken into the Middlesex Hospital remarked to a medical student, "The pubs were just shutting. What a mercy it did not fall five minutes later. The streets would have been crowded". Many Whitefields folk were thankful that the incident did not occur an hour earlier when they were still on the premises. As it was, there were seven deaths, a number of injured, and some merciful escapes. The caretaker's dog, buried for several days, still pays us an occasional visit, surveying the unfamiliar scene with his one eye.

When it became known that the building was no more, there were those who said, "Whitefields is finished. There is no point in rebuilding it. It is wiser to sell the site, and divert the money

to church extension in new areas". The people of Whitefields, with more local knowledge, had other ideas. They knew that the need for work and witness in Tottenham Court Road was as urgent as ever.

On either side of Tottenham Court Road there is a considerable down-town population including many nationalities, and beyond Euston Road a vast acreage of villas, tenements and flats. In the neighbouring squares and streets numerous middle-class people are to be found in flats and converted Georgian houses. Bloomsbury is developing as a University centre. We know of fifty large hostels in our area housing students and young business people. Then there are the big teaching hospitals: University College, Middlesex, Great Ormonde Street and the Royal Free, each with its large complement of nurses and medical students. Tottenham Court Road is a centre, also, to which people naturally gravitate. Unlike the streets of the city, which are deserted when offices and shops are closed, it is always thronged. On Sundays thousands come to its cinemas and cafés.

The Whitefields people were determined that the challenge must be met. During the previous fifty years several churches in the vicinity had been closed for lack of support. This, however, made the challenge more imperative. The neighbourhood includes the haunts of dangerous criminals and "spivs". There is much contagious evil. It was unthinkable that children and young people living in this environment should be deprived of the friendly nurture of an evangelical church.

The diaconate, led by the temporary minister, the Rev. Aubrey Lewis, meeting only three days after the incident, decided that Sunday services should be continued in the drawing-room of the Central Y.M.C.A., and that meetings and clubs should be carried on in borrowed halls. At a meeting a week later it was unanimously agreed that a temporary building be erected on the old site as soon as a licence could be obtained. There followed preliminary discussions with representatives of the London Congregational Union. In July, 1945, one of the deacons, manager of a firm of building contractors, submitted plans for roofing the existing walls of the Institute ground floor. After many difficulties and delays a licence was granted in July, 1946, which stipulated that no plaster and no new timber be used, and only unskilled labour employed. Notwithstanding these handicaps, the new temporary buildings were opened on 25th January, 1947. Services, meetings and clubs were resumed on the old site. In the early summer of 1945 the Rev. Aubrey Lewis had resigned to take up his L.M.S. appointment at Tiger Kloof. The church had since been without a minister, but was fortunate in its vigorous lay leadership. My own introduction came by chance during the

London Commando Campaign, and I was inducted on 24th January, 1948.

Much needed to be done to clear up the site. It was all too obvious that Hitler had passed this way. There were untidy heaps of rubble. The steps of the former church still stood, leading into space, and hiding the buildings beyond. So we organized work teams. Deacons and members of the youth organizations worked side by side. Often a small crowd gathered to watch. A lady visitor from South Africa paused to remark that the churches of Britain could not be dead when young people were prepared to work so hard for them. We removed the steps, laid out a garden and erected notice-boards. Contractors were engaged to lay the vacant site with asphalt, and erect low retaining walls. Appearances were transformed, and fellowship deepened.

Since returning to the old site, activities and numbers have steadily increased. The time soon arrived when extended accommodation became an urgent necessity. The walls of Rylands Hall still stood, and a simple plan was evolved for replacing the roof. A licence for this work was secured, and the Hall opened on 1st October, 1950, by Sir Nicolas de Villiers.

Our interim building scheme is now completed, and our thoughts are much occupied with the shape of things to come. Bricks and mortar do not make a church, but these material elements can be limiting or liberating. A joint L.C.U.-Whitefields committee is at work on plans for the future. We intend to erect modern church premises, imaginatively conceived by a first class architect, pleasing and inviting, and adapted to our needs. The scheme will probably provide for a church seating 500, a hall with accommodation for 800-1,000, numerous ancillary rooms, and adequate space for children's and youth work. We are informed that the maximum amount of floor-space for which the site allows is 58,000 square feet. At the moment we have less than 5,000. It is intended that the new Whitefields, like the old, shall be a centre for London Congregationalism.

In the meantime a vital and extensive work goes on. The children in the street on Sunday morning are a symbol. Already a new generation is growing up to take its place in the church. The first fifteen minutes of morning service, when children and adults unite for family worship, is a thrilling experience. Children's Church, starting in 1947 with five teachers and a few boys and girls, now has a staff of 23 teachers. The Scout and Guide movements and Junior Clubs cater for the children's weekday needs. We are fortunate in having facilities for tennis and netball.

By the media of 14-18 and 18-25 Youth Clubs, Livingstone Fellowship, and the Congregational Students Society we endeavour to meet the religious and social needs of young people, some of

whom live in overcrowded conditions, and many away from home. On Sunday evening after service students and young business people chat over a cup of tea, and then separate for study, occasionally uniting in a joint study session. From time to time we are asked by Probation Officers of the Courts if we will accept a boy or girl on probation as a member of the Youth Club. We are eager to help in this way. Pleasant surroundings, congenial friends and wholesome leisure-time interests play an important part in the redemption of youthful delinquents.

The Parents' Association, and the Friendship Club for young wives and mothers with its crêche, help us to keep in touch with the homes of our children. There is regular visitation, and gradually we are winning trust and confidence. In many instances overcrowding is appalling, and a fruitful source of friction, nervous strain and difficulty. In such cases it is a relief and relaxation for parents to spend an hour or so on church premises, knowing that some kindly person is caring for their children. The women's meeting with a membership of over 100 is a haven of refuge for elderly and often lonely women.

By the co-operation of the L.C.C. our Choral Society is led by a qualified teacher of singing, and the Whitefield Players by a trained teacher of drama. The Choral Society goes out occasionally to sing in other churches, and in L.C.C. Old People's institutions. Whitefield Players have been invited by the Religious Drama Panel to present T. B. Morris's story of Coventry Cathedral, "I will arise," in the Festival of Britain Church next summer.

Our strategy is further related to the needs of the neighbourhood by my membership of the S.C.M. Chaplain's committee, and the college study circles I have been asked to lead. My appointment as Free Church Chaplain of University College Hospital brings valuable contacts with patients and staff. Several of the larger hostels have private chapels, and I am sometimes invited to conduct services there. One of our most fruitful methods of evangelism is to follow up every contact.

We have wide scope today for interesting, exciting and worthwhile work. One-third of our present members have been received during the past three years. Our staff of voluntary helpers steadily increases. A sign of our growth is the recent appointment of Miss Anne Sydney Smith, B.A., to be assistant to the minister.

Whitefields is a Central Mission of the London Congregational Union. In 1903 the church was dissolved and the property handed over to the L.C.U. Silvester Horne was then invited to reorganize it as a central mission, administered by a council whose members were nominated by the Union. There was no diaconate and no church meeting, and some time elapsed before a membership roll was inaugurated. During the ministry of Charter

Piggott (1912-1917) representatives of sectional activities of the Mission were invited to join the Council. When the time came to find his successor, members were called together for consultation. It was during the pastorate of the Rev. S. Maurice Watts that a regular church meeting was instituted, and a diaconate elected. All the deacons became ex-officio members of the Council. These outward changes marked a growing sense of identity, fellowship and responsibility. An elderly member has remarked, "Silvester Horne made Whitefields into a mission, Maurice Watts made it into a church".

It is essentially a church today. The strength of the fellowship has been proved during the past six years. Members' sense of responsibility has been shown by their initiative in rehabilitation, and by the fact that since the bombing the church has paid its own way. The Council lapsed during the 1939-45 war, but has recently been reconstituted with limited powers. The yoke is an easy one. Spiritually Whitefields is a Congregational Church, though not legally. It ought to be said that our relationship to the London Congregational Union is helpful and advantageous.

The strength of the church is apparent at Sunday evening service. The building is comfortably filled. The congregation is representative of every age-group from 14 to 90. There is an uplifting sense of fellowship. We have no organ. Music is provided by a piano. Until recently we had no choir. Yet our Puritan type of worship has obviously been appreciated. It is with feeling that we sing the hymn "We love the place, O God, wherein Thine honour dwells".

We are grateful to God for the blessing He has given us, but we are not complacent. Our prayer is that we may be ever alive to the need of Central London, and be enabled to face the challenge of today intelligently and courageously, as we prepare to face the challenge of tomorrow.

DEVELOPMENTS IN PSYCHO-ANALYSIS BEYOND FREUD[1]

By H. J. S. Guntrip, B.A., B.D.

1. *The Psycho-Analytic Movement.*

Freud at first worked in almost complete isolation, disparaged on all sides for some ten years. His first published paper was in 1893, and though he gathered a small group of co-workers in Vienna, it was not till 1907 that the acceptance of his theories by the great Swiss psychiatrist Bleuler and his assistant Carl Jung, men of international reputation who were 'medically respectable', put Freud on the map. By 1910 Freud was able to form the International Psycho-Analytical Society, and all seemed set fair for steady and flourishing growth.

Instead a period of schism set in. In 1911 Adler split off, then Stekel, and by 1913 Jung had broken away. Later on even Otto Rank 'deviated'. Time has shown that, apart from Jung, the secessionists had little to offer that could compare with Freud's own monumental work. Jung has delved ever deeper into religious and other symbolism and is of great individual value, but can hardly be said to have produced any major discoveries that can rank with those of Freud. The two major break-aways were no doubt due to deficiencies in Freud's own theories. Adler tried to remedy Freud's early neglect of the conscious personality, the ego, and its social power-motives. Jung tried to graft on to psycho-analysis an appreciation of the spiritual factors in human life. Neither apparently saw that their attempts were premature, that psycho-analysis would in good time come up with these questions and that the best prospects lay in steady research, development, and patient critical revision of Freudian theory from within, not in the propounding of revolutionary alternative views.

Freud, with much justification, became anxious lest the movement should be disrupted and his hard-won insights dissipated in a flood of uncontrolled speculation. The faithful gathered round the banner of a Freudian orthodoxy. Collaborators of great skill developed the theory, but it was only Freud's genius that made major innovations. This preserved the integrity of the psycho-analytic technique and the basic essentials of theory and should be accepted as an historical necessity at that period. However, there was bound to come a time after Freud's death, nay, even before it, when analytical thinkers would be pushed, by the unsolved problems still

[1] Preceded by *The Permanent and the Passing in Freud, Congregational Quarterly*, October 1950.

confronting them, beyond the point at which Freud's own creative work ended.

In 1932, at the age of 76, Freud published *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis,* probably the last of his important works, even though he continued to write to the end in 1939 at the age of 83. His unfinished and posthumously published *Outline of Psycho-Analysis* adds nothing new. Thus twenty years have elapsed in which new developments could arise. The body of classical and orthodox doctrine is for ever fixed in the writings of the big four, Freud, Abraham, Ferenczi and Ernest Jones, but now new movement is afoot. It is true that Edward Glover in *Psycho-Analysis* (1948) makes the surprising statement that "few extensions of psycho-analytical psychology can be recorded in the past ten years", which, if it were true, would be lamentable. Ernest Jones takes a broader view in *What is Psycho-Analysis?,* and mentions the work of Alexander, Karen Horney and Melanie Klein.

Of two of these we may say briefly that Alexander and his team in Chicago are concentrating on short-term therapy, to see whether the knowledge culled from the very long and deep analysis of the orthodox kind can be used to speed up treatment for the mass. His recent *Fundamentals of Psycho-Analysis*[2] contains shrewd criticism of some details of Freudian theory but makes no fundamental change in the classic orthodoxy. Karen Horney has developed in a more systematic way the essence of Adler's thought. She shows the influence on psycho-analysis of the challenge of sociology. She has thrown over the Freudian doctrine of instincts, and states that what Freud saw as instincts of sex and aggression are in fact compulsive neurotic character-trends capable of modification. She emphasizes that all emotional conflicts are a result of disturbed human relationships. She analyses character-structure in the light of the immediate cultural environment and personal relationships of the patient. This emphasis is of first-rate importance, but her work has unfortunately departed from the well-founded Freudian view that the roots of personality problems are to be found in the repressed infantile unconscious. She has not worked out any real psychopathology of infancy.

The reason for this brings us face to face with what the writer believes to be the genuinely new theoretical development, one of fundamental and major importance, the rise of what has come to be called 'object-relations theory' in Gt. Britain. Karen Horney's work is an object-relations theory of character-structure viewed from the standpoint of consciousness. The unconscious had hitherto been explained solely in terms of instincts, and Karen Horney, having discarded instincts lacked the means whereby an account of the unconscious could be given in terms of object-relations

2 F. Alexander, *Fundamentals of Psycho-Analysis.*

The missing clue is supplied by the work of Melanie Klein, and is utilized by Fairbairn of Edinburgh to create a truly revolutionary recasting of the entire range of Freudian theory, without departing from the incontrovertible facts that Freud discovered. The work of Klein and Fairbairn has increasing influence in Gt. Britain and appears to be the true line of development for the future.

2. *The work of Melanie Klein.*

The missing clue which Karen Horney did not possess or did not utilize, and in the absence of which no satisfactory alternative to the instinct-theory of the unconscious could be proposed, was the concept of the 'internal object' developed by Melanie Klein. It is impossible to do justice to the whole of her work here, and we must confine ourselves to her views on 'depression' and on 'internal objects'. She holds closely to Freud's theory of the instincts, libidinal and aggressive, and the Oedipus complex, even retaining Freud's death instinct which is rejected by such writers as Fenichel, Alexander and Jones; and she has not drawn the conclusions for theoretical revision that her own discoveries necessitate. In fact she is much more concerned with object-relations than with instincts, but the object-relations of infancy as reproduced deep within the inner unconscious structure of the psyche.

A comparison will be useful here. Horney studies personal relationships in the present as influenced by character-traits formed in the personal relationships of childhood, and treats the unconscious, not as the internal persistence of the actual life of infancy but rather as the unrealized implications in our present day behaviour. That is true but is inadequate. Thus many people show to others all the signs of over-dependent attitudes, the significance of which they themselves do not at all appreciate. They are *in need* all the time of supplies of praise, encouragement, success, popularity, love, money; or else they resist their dependent trends by becoming over-independent and do not show even the normal desires for these good things. Karen Horney sets to work to analyse this "morbid dependency" but she treats it simply as a character-trait that one has retained from early childhood. All the evidence, however, shows that such character-traits have such a strong hold because they are rooted in an unconscious mental life in which the situation of childhood is literally still preserved in existence. We do not, as Horney assumes, leave our childhood behind us, and simply bring along with us the character-traits it developed in us. The actual mental world of childhood itself is kept alive within us, repressed and so preserved in the infantile unconscious, as the hidden part of the structure of the total personality. Dreams are a perpetual regression to this inner world of our early life. We do not recognize that because the scenes and persons are disguised.

Melanie Klein's work concerns the personal relationships of infancy as they survive in the structure of the adult personality in repressed forms. Thus it is most closely related to Freud's own work and is a true extension of it; she invented the play-method of analysing children which has now become universally adopted. She saw that children's games are primarily motivated by the need to give expression to their inner emotional life. They are not just experimentation and practice in the use of muscular and other powers, or "a trying out" of activities that will later on be needed in adult life. Watch children playing at schools or at being mother. Note the tremendous amount of aggression that goes into the rôle of being either the child or the adult. The child is disobedient and cheeky, the teacher or parent slaps and scolds the naughty child. All its suppressed longings to turn the tables on the adults come out in its games; and also all its struggles to identify itself with the authority of the adults and so keep itself in order. Melanie Klein's analytical work with children revealed to her the astonishing world of childhood phantasy, even at the early age of $2\frac{3}{4}$ years, when it was already in full operation with a history behind it. At that age the child has destructive phantasies aimed both at its parents and at itself, and is capable of sexual, that is psycho-physical, possessiveness and jealousy of great intensity, and of strong feelings of anxiety and guilt. Much of what Freud inferred about the child, Klein viewed 'on the spot' as it were.

But her findings led her to some extremely important modifications of orthodox Freudian theory, which in fact reach a great deal farther than she has herself taken them.

3. *Freud and Klein.*

To appreciate her views it is necessary to state briefly the orthodox Freudian view. For him neurosis and character-formation in general was determined by the Oedipus problem; the way the child managed its emotional and sexual relationships with its parents between the age of 3 and 5 years. What went before that, Freud's so-called "pre-genital stages", the oral or mouth phase, and the anal or excretory phase, simply led up to the really important period of 3-5 years. Freud held that in the early stages an infant is auto-erotic and narcissistic; its centre of interest is in itself and the satisfaction of its bodily needs, and the obtaining of its bodily pleasures. It is only interested in other people as means to its ends. Masturbation, i.e. sexual activity where there is no external object, where the masturbator is his own sexual object, was regarded as a survival of this early pre-genital self-centredness and a sign of immaturity. Masturbation in adolescence literally takes the place of thumb-sucking in the post-weaning period. Proper development consists in the child's interests shifting from these early self-centred

gratifications, of sucking and excretion, in which no object is required; and in moving on to the genital stage which is in principle a stage of object-relationship.

One would have thought that the sucking of the breast-feeding period was also a stage of object-relationship, but Freud would say "No". It does not matter to the child what it sucks so long as it can obtain the pleasurable sensations in the mucous membrane of the mouth that it desires to enjoy. It is supposed that it is enjoying its feelings, not enjoying its object. This sexual factor is accidentally tacked on to the business of feeding which does require an external object to supply food. But while the oral activity is held to be, in principle, self-centred or narcissistic and can quite well dispense with an object outside the self, the genital stage is in principle one of object-relationship. Gratification is sought in partnership with another person and the small child's sexual and emotional impulses definitely go out towards the parent of the opposite sex. If the child cannot successfully reach that stage, if it remains stuck in some pre-genital stage, or if it finds the problems of the Oedipus stage too hard to deal with and regresses back to the more self-centred but at the same time dependent attitude of the earlier stages, then it remains immature in character in a fundamental sense.

Of course the child's impulses towards the parent of the opposite sex cannot find their way to actual gratification, and intense feelings of frustration, rivalry, guilt and anxiety arise till at last conscience succeeds in imposing the accepted standards of domestic and social behaviour, and the Oedipus conflict, or whatever is left of it, is repressed into the unconscious. Some small area of repressed mother-fixation will be found down in the unconscious of every normal adult; if it is too strong, then a dependent and insecure character results, and later on some environmental stress will bring the hidden immaturity to light in the form of some neurotic reactions of illness.

Now it must be admitted that Freud's theory is founded on actual facts. Thus, a professional woman in the thirties, who broke down with thyro-toxicosis, depression and severe headache, had never been able to marry and was afraid of men yet could not get on very well with women. She felt guilty if she dressed up attractively, that was worldliness; but on investigation, she discovered that she had an intense fear of being accused of being jealous of other women or of trying to outrival them. Similarly she felt that somehow she had no right to a man of her own. Under treatment she dreamt "that she was in a bedroom with two women (who in fact were her mother and her sister) and suddenly she said 'I'm sick to death of being with women. I must have a man'. She rushed out of the bedroom and into another small bedroom in their old

home, and there she got into bed with a married man, and the other two women knew about it but couldn't say anything''. That was the dream. One association is enough to show its meaning. To her knowledge she had never slept in that particular room, but once when she was a little girl of about 3½-4 years old, for some reason her father had slept in that room one night, and in the morning she ran in to see him, climbed into his bed and got under the clothes and played and felt snug and safe. That is an Oedipus situation. These things do happen and they have somehow to be explained. They are in fact, as Freud claims, universal. In other words every child must learn the beginnings of its love life in its relationships with its parents. Where else should it learn?

But Freud's theory has certain implications. One is that character depends on the sexual biological development of the child, and it only becomes an unselfish adult, mature and capable of giving as well as getting, if sexually it arrives at the genital level of infancy. A further important implication is that even then, at every level, it is really only its own subjective pleasure that the child is seeking; thirdly, that 3-5 years is the really critical time in the child's development, the age when the foundations of conscience are laid, and the major repressions take place; fourthly, that sexual desire for one parent and aggressive rivalry to the other are biological necessities, the ultimate instincts being sex and aggression. Thus aggression is treated as a permanent and irreducible part of human nature, which must have an outlet. Maturity means the sublimation of infantile sexuality and aggression, and everything is explained in terms of inborn impulses of biological import.

Now it is not the facts, altogether, but their interpretation that is in dispute, and the recognition of new facts which Freud saw but did not follow up. Melanie Klein's work has shown that in fact this clinging to one parent along with hostile attitudes to the other goes back much earlier than the famous Oedipus stage. It can be found in the first year of life. But what is more the child is not very consistent, it swings about between mother and father. Now mother is in favour and father out, a little later this is reversed. This is not so automatic and fixed as the Oedipus theory would suggest. In short, Melanie Klein holds that the really crucial stage is not a so-called Oedipus stage from 3-5 years, but the earlier period of the first 18 months to two years, the period in which the fundamental problem of ambivalence arises. This is also the period in which the terrible problem of depression is created. Ambivalence and depression go together and are the real root of trouble. This really brings us to a very different theory from Freud's although every single element in it is provided by Freud himself, for it was Freud who first analysed the problems of ambiva-

lence and depression. Incidentally an American film record has been made of changes of expression on a baby's face during periods of absence of its mother, and it is beyond doubt that if mother is absent from baby too long when the baby is needing her, it does in fact sink into and pass through phases of very profound depression. It is here that the terrible problem of depressed moods have their origin.

Ambivalence is the name given to the fact that opposite emotions of love and hate can be felt at the same time for the same person. Here is an adult example of it in the sufferer's own words. "I seem to hate those I love. The more I love a person, the more I hate them. I love S——— yet at the slightest thing in which she annoys me I get blindly angry with her. With my husband sometimes I love him and sometimes I hate him, at times I feel both at once; then I feel that its me that's unreasonable and not him. This week the slightest thing that has gone wrong I've felt to be all your (the analyst's) fault, yet I panic at the thought that you might not bother with me any more". The tragedy of ambivalence is that you can neither love nor hate effectively; if you love, the hate gets in the way, and if you hate, the love gets in the way. A state of serious psychic deadlock is set up. In unconsciously hating and injuring the loved and needed person to whom one remains attached, one suffers with the object of one's own aggression and is landed in a state of internal self-hate and self-attack which is the inner meaning of "depression". Deep down in the mind of everyone is a "depressed" level of personality, where one is afraid of the destructiveness of infantile hate and always afraid of losing those one loves, and feeling guilty. Any actual loss or separation in real life may bring this "depression" surging up into consciousness.

Melanie Klein holds that this "infantile depressive position" is set up in the first year of life where the frustrations of weaning and losing the good breast-mother evoke what she calls "the phase of maximum sadism" in the infant. As Ernest Jones says: "Devouring or cannibalistic phantasies had been observed and traced to perhaps the age of three. But Mrs. Klein ruthlessly maintains that they occur during the so-called cannibalistic stage of infancy itself, which after all seems what one would have expected[3]". In this sense, therefore, depression lies behind the conflicts of the later periods out of which the psychoneuroses of obsession, hysteria and anxiety-states come. Mrs. Klein expresses this by saying that the Freudian Oedipus situation originates earlier than Freud supposed, as also does the super-ego or guilt-inducing reaction against destructive tendencies. She traces the Oedipus conflict and super-ego

[3] See *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis: Intro.* M. Klein.

back to the first year of life, but as we shall see presently, it is doubtful whether this is the best interpretation of her undoubted discoveries.

The other leading feature of her views, the theory of "internal objects" is an extension of a discovery of Freud who saw that the super-ego or conscience came into being by 'introjecting' the authoritarian parent who, having been taken up into or absorbed into the mental life of the child, operates from within, still as a separate person, a super-ego dominating the child's own ego. This 'internal object' can be seen in action in many dreams where the dreamer is confronted by a judge or policeman or irate parent-figure, a jailor, punisher, or even a concentration camp torturer. In dreams this figure is often multiplied so that it is clear that the dreamer feels internally menaced all the time by a host of persecutors or 'bad internal objects'. These, Mrs. Klein holds, are created in the mind originally as early as in the first year by a complex process. The infant automatically projects its own rages on to mother or father, that is, sees them coloured by its own moods, so that they look far worse and more terrifying than even bad parents are in reality. Then these frightening, persecuting figures, who at bottom represent parents, are introjected, taken back into the child's own inner mental world simply because it cannot get away from them: a child cannot get away from parents, in whatever light it sees them. Both good and bad objects are introjected: internal comforters and supporters form a psychic defence against internal judges and persecutors. As the child grows this 'world of infantile good and bad objects' is repressed, driven out of consciousness so that the waking self can adjust itself, as undisturbed as may be, to the demands and realities of the world of external objects, persons who are real in the material and not only the mental sense. Thus the unconscious can now be explained, not in terms of repressed prepersonal instincts of biological origin, but in terms of relationships to personal objects. The human mind can be seen in terms of 'object-relations' right through, instead of being divided, as by Freud, into a conscious ego related to objects and an unconscious id consisting simply of biological impulses of impersonal nature and prepersonal origin. This step in theory is not taken by Melanie Klein, but has been taken by Fairbairn as the necessary development of her work. A whole world of 'psychic reality' distinct from 'external reality' is set up within the mind, repressed, and becomes part of the unconscious structure of the individual's personality. In this unconscious inner world are 'internal objects' representing the individual's mixed experience of parents in infancy. Naturally the worse the parents were in fact, the more disturbing will this unconscious inner world be, but part of the self is always living in it, in intensely

emotional relationships of hunger for love, anger and frustration, anxiety and guilt at destructive impulses, fears of destroying or injuring those it loves and needs, of suffering irreparable loss, feeling crippling remorse, and striving to regain hope by making reparation and restoring good relationships. It is when the dynamic emotions of this inner world escape into consciousness that nervous illness or behaviour disorders ensue. Some of Melanie Klein's critics hold that her theories are incompatible with those of Freud, but they certainly have a close organic relationship to his work, and at every point develop positions or germs of insight that he himself reached. Of the divergence, Ernest Jones writes: "Not that it should be in any event a decisive consideration, if experience showed that her conclusions were nearer the truth. . . . If psychoanalysis is to remain a branch of science it is evident that now that Freud's ability to continue his magnificent impetus has been extinguished, advance beyond the limits he reached is inevitable".

4. *The Work of Fairbairn.*

The mixture of instinct-theory in the form of the classic Freudian libido theory, with a new type of object-relations theory in Melanie Klein's work, does in fact call for further theoretical development and this was recognized by Dr. W. R. D. Fairbairn of Edinburgh. Klein switched the emphasis from the libido (the psycho-sexual love impulse) to aggression and has made no attempt to refashion the orthodox theory of the development of the love-life. But her work makes this imperative because in fact it implies that object-relationships exist far earlier and far more fundamentally than Freud allowed. Abraham wrote: "The child's libido is without an object (autoerotic) to begin with. Later it takes its ego as its first object (narcissism); and not till after that does it turn towards 'external objects'[4]". In non-technical language, human beings are fundamentally self-centred; self love precedes and with difficulty gives place to the love of others, and even then altruistic love is always something of an illusion because what is sought, basically, is pleasure, pleasurable sensations in bodily erotogenic zones. The object is really only a means to the end of obtaining subjective pleasures, and is not sought for its own intrinsic worth. This hedonistic theory of motivation has always been a major stumbling block to many who were otherwise sympathetic to Freud's discoveries. His libido theory with its hedonism and degradation of object relationships to a merely utilitarian position was part of the biological rather than personal orientation of his work discussed in the previous article.

Fairbairn has made here a radical departure of inestimable importance. He writes: "Libidinal pleasure is fundamentally just

[4] C. Abraham, *Selected Papers*, p. 431.

a sign post to the object. According to the conception of erotogenic zones the object is regarded as a signpost to libidinal pleasure; and the cart is thus placed before the horse. Such a reversal of the real position must be attributed to the fact that, in the earlier stages of psycho-analytic thought, the paramount importance of the object-relationship had not yet been sufficiently realized[5]''. In this case, the need for object-relationship is the essence of human living from the very start. Instincts are more than biological appetites pleasurably serving the material existence of the individual and the race; they are of personal significance: viewed as facts for psychology, they are fundamentally object-seeking and endowed with a psychic and personal meaning in and through their biological function. This gives us the true key to the understanding of sexuality. In our sexual life, areas, organs or functions of the body provide channels for the libido, *i.e.*, are erotically excited, when they are used as means to relationship with objects, external or internal. In infancy, owing to the baby's total dependence on mother and the breast, the mouth is the means of object-relationship of a dependent and incorporating kind. The infant, in his need, seeks to take in from his object to sustain himself, and his attitude is one of 'getting', the essence of immaturity. Development must take place from the immature dependent attitude which libidinizes the mouth, the 'getting' organ, to a mature attitude in which individuality, selfhood, and the capacity to 'give' are achieved: at which stage the genital organs will naturally be libidinized as means to creative and 'giving' activity in a truly mutual co-operative adult relationship. In between there will be a transitional period, the so-called Freudian anal phase; but the anus is not a natural libidinal zone as mouth and genitals are. It only becomes libidinized in the struggle to deal with internal objects and the need to win freedom from them. Then anal retention and expulsion acquire a symbolic significance in terms of clinging to or giving up internalized parent figures. There is no natural anal sexuality as such.

Thus Fairbairn radically reinterprets the facts on which Abraham's development of Freud's libido theory rests. For Freud and Abraham sexual development passed through three main stages, oral, anal, genital, each determined by an erotogenic zone, mouth, excretory organs, genitals, becoming, for reasons of biological development, successively the centre of the emotional life. Character depended on whether development was arrested by fixation at a pregenital level. The oral character was dependent and demanding, the anal character stubborn and defiant, the genital character altruistic and mature. We quote Abraham again: ''Believing

[5] W. R. D. Fairbairn, *A Revised Psychopathology of the Psychoses and Psychoneuroses* (International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, Vol. XXII, 1941).

as we do that the character-traits of men and women have their origin in definite instinctual sources, we should naturally expect that the development of a person's character would only be complete when his libido has reached the highest stage of organization and has achieved the capacity for object-love''; and he speaks of ''Freud's view that a person's sexual attitude is reflected in the whole trend of his mental attitude in general[6]''. Fairbairn exactly reverses this, holding that a person's general mental attitude determines his sexual attitude. It depends on the kind of object-relationship we want as to how we use our sexual and other bodily functions. If, deep down, a man unconsciously desires a passive, nursed, well-fed and comforted relation to a woman he is most likely sooner or later to succumb to impotence. If he wants a responsible, active, shared relationship in which he finds his deepest satisfaction in 'giving' to the woman he will naturally be genitally potent. It is not a question of fixation of libido but of maturity or immaturity of character in object-relationships. Fairbairn writes: ''The real significance of the 'genital' stage lies in a maturity of object-relationships, and that a genital attitude is but an element in that maturity . . . the real significance of the oral stage lies in an immaturity of object-relationships, and the oral attitude is but an element in that immaturity: but at the oral stage, the importance of the physical, as against the psychical, element in relationships is more marked than at the 'genital' stage owing to the dependence of the infant[8]''. In 1946 he wrote, the baby ''is only oral because he is breast seeking, and not vice versa[7]'', that is, from the start it is the object, not pleasurable sensations, that is important. ''At the other end of the scale of development, the genital organs of a heterosexual object other than a parent should occupy a place in libidinal interest corresponding to that occupied by the mother's breast at the outset, albeit there is something very far wrong if interest is as predominantly concerned with a bodily organ at the later stage as at the earlier[8]''.

Here, at last, is a welcome statement of a genuine psychology of man as a person, a theory with which justice can be done to all the so-called 'higher' aspects of human life. A mature human being is one who has fundamentally outgrown the dependent and demanding, 'sucking and biting' attitudes of infancy and has an altruistic, co-operative and truly objective attitude to other people, responding to them and seeking relationship with them in terms of their whole personality, emotional, intellectual and physical, a relationship in which sex in the physical sense simply plays its own appropriate part. Sexual compulsions and over-valuation of the physical will be a sign of immaturity.

6 *op. cit.*, p. 408. 7 *op. cit.*, Vol. XXVII, 1946, p. 32. 8 *op. cit.*, p. 33

Space forbids any attempt to outline Fairbairn's treatment of the psycho-neuroses (obsession, hysteria, phobia) and paranoia as four different techniques for dealing with 'bad objects' internalized at the early oral stage. He regards these illnesses as defences against the danger of relapse into the under-lying 'depression' of the late oral, biting, ambivalent stage, and the still deeper schizoid 'aloofness' and feeling of futility and withdrawal from contact with objects, which has its roots in the early oral 'sucking' and preambivalent stage. The depressed person fears his hate is destructive; the schizoid person fears his desperately hungry, incorporating love is destructive; so both break off contact with external objects and turn into themselves, the schizoid becoming in the fullest sense the introvert. Depression and this schizoid state Fairbairn regards as the two ultimate psychic dangers. They are so, because they withdraw us from healthy relationships with external objects, the people around us, and draw us down into the unconscious inner world of repressed internal objects, that is, back to the level of our infantile life.

A final word must be said about Fairbairn's theory of the structural organization of the psychic life. Naturally the Freudian scheme of id, ego and super-ego, which is a product of instinct theory (the id being the impersonal reservoir of instincts, whence impulses invade the ego and are counter-attacked by the super-ego), is dropped in favour of an object-relations theory of endo-psychic structure.

Fairbairn criticizes Freud's view because it separates structure and energy in the psyche. The id is "energy without structure" and the ego and super-ego are "structures without energy". This involves the curious notion that since the ego and super-ego have no energy of their own, in order to control the abounding energies of the unorganized id, they must turn some of its energy back against itself. It is hard to see how such ideas could have arisen if psychological thinking had been guided consistently by an appreciation of the meaning of the concepts 'self' and 'person'. But Freud thought always in terms of a 'psychic apparatus' working on the mechanistic 'stimulus and response' model, not of a person whose life, from the start, derives meaning from a capacity for object-relationships. In Fairbairn's theory of 'dynamic structure' the ego, in however primitive a way, starts as a unity invested with its own energy. The id cannot be distinguished from the primary ego, and the ego comes into being with the first dim stirring, no doubt in the prenatal state, of some psychic impulse, which is essentially a seeking for an object in however rudimentary a way. Psychic life starts as a unity, as an ego or self whose unity becomes split by early emotional crises. This theory of 'dynamic structure' is a genuinely psycho-

logical solution of the thorny problems of the confusing psycho-biological concept of 'instinct'. Fairbairn writes: "So far as psycho-analysis is concerned one of the unfortunate results of the divorce of energy from structure is that, in its dynamic aspects, psycho-analytical theory has been unduly permeated by conceptions of hypothetical 'impulses' and 'instincts' which bombard passive structures. . . . We find Dr. Brierley (1944) speaking of 'instinct as the stimulus to psychic activity'. From the standpoint of dynamic structure, however, 'instinct' is not the stimulus to psychic activity, but itself consists of characteristic activity on the part of a psychical structure. Similarly, 'impulse' is not, so to speak, a kick in the pants administered out of the blue to a surprised and perhaps somewhat pained ego, but a psychical structure in action—a psychical structure doing something to something or somebody. Actually, from the point of view of dynamic structure, the terms 'instinct' and 'impulse', like so many terms used in psychology, are misleading hypostatizations which only serve to confuse the issue. Still more misleading are the plural forms 'instincts' and 'impulses'. The fact is that such terms only serve a useful purpose when employed in their adjectival forms, as when we speak of 'an instinctive tendency' or of 'impulsive behaviour'; for it is only then that they imply a reference to a psychical structure on the one hand, and to an object relationship on the other[9]".

Instinct or impulse, then, is the way an ego, or growing self, i.e. an organized and developing psychic structure, seeks and reacts to its objects. This seems to be what Allport's 'functional autonomy' theory is feeling after but does not succeed in stating in so fundamental a manner. From this starting point it is evident that Melanie Klein's 'internal objects' are much more than phantasies of frightening or comforting relationships to bad and good objects; 'internal objects' are psychic structures. The baby is not only physically dependent on its objects, it is, in a special way, psychically tied to them, feels 'one with' them, is identified with them. Thus a man of forty, in whom infantile identificatory dependence on his mother persisted unconsciously, remembered his mother being taken to a nursing home when he was thirteen: his comment was: "I felt terrible. It was as if a part of me was being taken away and I could not go on existing". Parent figures, in both bad and good aspects, are internalized or mentally incorporated in infancy and the infant feels identified with them. They become parts of the structure of the infant psyche, 'internal objects' with whom it has intense emotional relationships. In the process the unity of its own ego is split. In the end, internal objects reduce to three, in however many varied forms they appear in phantasy and dream, and underlying physical symptoms. There is firstly the mother who is

[9] *op. cit.*, p. 36.

needed and longed for and who excites strong craving and desire which is felt both mentally and physically: secondly, there is the rejecting mother who does not satisfy the infant's need and arouses its aggression by frustration with the result that she herself appears as an aggressive object, as in truth she often is. The ambivalent mother who is both good and bad from the infant's point of view, at one time satisfying and at another frustrating its needs, forces the infant to be ambivalent: it both loves and hates. From its primitive ego are split off an infantile, dependent, loving ego craving for the good breast; and an infantile, hating ego rejecting the bad breast which rejects or fails to satisfy him, but remaining related by identification. The super-ego is the third internal object.

Thus a complex process of internal splitting goes on very early, the result of which is the formation of what Fairbairn calls the Libidinal Ego (L.E.) attached to the Needed Object (N.O.) and the Internal Saboteur (I.S.) attached to the Rejecting Object (R.O.). The complete infantile situation is here preserved in the structure of the psyche and repressed to form the Unconscious, an inner world of egos and objects in relationship. From it there surge up into consciousness greedy, parasitical tendencies and angry, irritable, aggressive moods to disturb the relationships of the conscious self to the external world, and to testify to the persistence of an underlying unconscious immaturity or infantilism of personality. Over the top, as we may say, of this buried world of the infantile unconscious, the main or original self (from which the L.E. and I.S. have been split off, along with their objects, by repression), or as Fairbairn calls it, the Central Ego (C.E.), strives to maintain well-adjusted relationships to external objects on the basis of internalizing, and identifying with, the disciplinarian parent, so forming the super-ego or conscience. The Internal Saboteur is a particularly illuminating aspect of the theory. The I.S. is a part of the self that is identified with a parent figure with whom good relationships have broken down. If mother or father become unloving and you cannot get a good objective relationship with them, the only other way to possess them is to be like them, to 'be' them, and that means becoming unloving yourself. Then the ability to love is lost, since identification with a rejecting parent acts as a saboteur in the mind, destroying the ability to make good contacts with other people. Thus a woman who complained of alternating between desperately strong longings to be loved by her husband and children, and cold, aloof, rejective moods which made her push them off, related the following history; up to the age of four, Daddy would nurse her and sing to her and was in all ways the good Daddy; then he began to push her off as she grew older, and as he became more and more aloof and cold and distant, she buried her longing for him and grew like him

instead. Later in adult life the infantile L.E. and the cold aloof I.S. would alternately invade her C.E. to produce the distressing situation of which she complained. Here is a much more subtle and accurate analysis of endo-psychic structure than the classic id, ego, super-ego scheme, and it is based on object-relationships throughout. The Oedipus situation is only a later form of the basic 'good and bad object' situation which starts with the two aspects of the mother as an ambivalent object.

One final word may be said. Fairbairn considers that the primary and basic response of the infant is one of love, in the sense of desire for an undisturbed good relationship to his mother. Aggression is a secondary phenomenon. He says: "I do not consider that the infant directs aggression spontaneously towards his libidinal object in the absence of frustrations[10]". Thus the aim of psycho-analysis is to liberate the individual's natural and spontaneous capacity for love from its imprisonment or repression beneath the phenomena of aggression and control. Perhaps we may venture to suggest that the philosophical implication is that love is a more ultimate reality than hate in the scheme of things.

[10] *op. cit.*, Vol. XXV., 1944, p. 70.

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REVIEWS

(The place of publication is London unless stated otherwise)

The Mystery of Being. 1. Reflection and Mystery. By GABRIEL MARCEL. The Harvill Press. 15s.

This book contains the first series of the Gifford lectures of 1949 and 1950. The translation is by G. S. Fraser.

The start is made with a repudiation of any idea of system. Philosophy is research, which rises out of a certain dissatisfaction. It goes out, not knowing whither. The special dissatisfaction of our time results from the breach which science has made in experience, expelling from it all that cannot be treated as object and causally explained. But in this way what is most valuable to humanity is lost. To find satisfaction, we must abandon the method of science and follow that of art, seeking a truth which is not universal, but is individual and personal. The method must be that of analysis and synthesis; the starting point is the self, including the body, considered not as an object, or even as an instrument, but as the power of feeling by which we are made one with what is beyond us. Feeling exists at different levels: we start from a vital situation, and try to transform it, creating out of our past something higher and better as we advance into the future. In so doing we are actuated by an appeal or call from what is beyond us, viewed not as an object which has no power to move us, but as a presence which makes itself felt and draws us on. This presence is the mystery of Being, to which philosophical research leads us. To expound its implications is reserved for the second series of lectures.

Marcel's philosophy is a distinguished and subtle form of the existentialism which derives from Kierkegaard, but has become popular in this century. It was originally a theistic philosophy, but in the hands of modern continuators such as Heidegger and Sartre it has become atheistic. Marcel once more renews its connection with theism.

So far, so good; but how much can existentialism help us, whether theistic or atheistic? In attempting to answer this question we may remind ourselves that Kierkegaard revolted from the universal system of Hegel, just as Socrates (his master in philosophy) revolted from the universal systems of the pre-Socratic philosophers. Kierkegaard's prescription was essentially that of Socrates, "Know thyself"; but he called it "inwardness". It is still the same prescription that is offered in a highly refined form by Marcel. The verdict of history is that the prescription, though valuable, is not sufficient. The universe of the pre-Socratics, excluded by Socrates, reasserted itself in Plato and Aristotle. It is similarly certain that the modern universe which contains science as so prominent a feature must reassert itself against Marcel's and any other existentialism that excludes it: a synthesis is demanded, if not Hegel's, then some other. Existentialism is a partial philosophy: as Marcel says, it is the philosophy of a "broken world". A complete philosophy would heal the breach. ROBERT S. FRANKS.

Five Centuries of Religion. Volume IV. The last days of Medieval Monasticism. By G. C. COULTON. C.U.P. 45s.

What a wealth of learning is here! But the whole is accumulated to prove a thesis, which might very well be expressed in the well known lines of Tennyson:

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

Dr. Coulton is quite clear that monachism was originally a very good custom. In the day of its inception it was the salt of the earth. But in the fifteenth century the salt had lost its savour; it was a time of general deterioration.

There were many attempts at reform. There were reforming abbots and reforming popes; above all there were the reforming Councils of Constance and Basle. Sometimes real reform was achieved; but it did not last even then. More often reform met with the stoutest opposition. The heavy weight of tradition was against it, vested interests were against it, average human nature was against it. The stories of such opposition are told in detail, and are documented with translations from contemporary sources. It is as one reads one after another that the whole weight of evidence begins to tell.

The discussion ranges over the greater part of Western Europe; but for us in this country particular interest attaches naturally to what Dr. Coulton has to say about English monasticism. He thinks that it was never so degraded as it became on the Continent; but on the other hand there was a lack of sainthood. The English kept to the middle of the road. But there was corruption all the same; and Dr. Coulton is at great pains to show how it existed in the time of Henry VII and Cardinal Morton. He complains that the apologists for the monasteries leave the damning bits out of their quotations, and he proceeds to quote them. All this leads up to at least a partial justification of Henry VIII and Cromwell. The corruption was very great, and the monasteries were ripe for drastic action. Cobbett's idea that the dissolution of the monasteries was the cause of widespread poverty is stigmatized as just nonsense. The problem of pauperism was far older than the Reformation, and was not limited to regions where the monasteries were dissolved.

This is the most challenging part of Dr. Coulton's book. It is to be expected that the apologists will not take it lying down. But he has certainly presented a case which will take some overthrowing. ROBERT S. FRANKS.

Introduction to St. Augustine's "The City of God": being selections from the *De Civitate Dei* including most of the XIXth book with text, translation and running commentary. By R. H. BARROW. Faber and Faber. 26s.

It is a striking indication of the 'relevance' of Augustine's great work 'to the conditions of modern times' that this 'introduction' should appear within twelve months from the publication of Prof. Burleigh's Croall Lectures on the *City of God*. The field covered by Mr. Barrow is, however, a good deal more restricted than the title might suggest. He concentrates his attention upon the XIXth Book and the relation of Augustine's 'political thought' to the ideas of classical paganism. The twenty short extracts from some of the earlier books provide only a very inadequate theological background: there are none, for example, from the all-important Book XI. It is a little difficult to see what readers Mr. Barrow has had in view. The classical student, who will find much that is of value in the commentary, would gladly have exchanged the translation for a more generous allowance of the original. For the historian, the XIXth Book is probably the only writing of Augustine which he already knows pretty well. The general reader does not want the Latin text and is likely to prefer the abridged edition of Healy's translation with its excellent introduction by Prof. Ernest Barker. J. BURNABY.

Religion and the Rise of Western Culture. By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. The Gifford Lectures in the University of Edinburgh, 1948. Sheed & Ward. 15s.

In his first series of Gifford Lectures, published under the title of "Religion and Culture", Mr. Dawson illustrated his basic theme that 'Religion is the dynamic element in culture' by reference to the early history of many religions and cultures. In the second set of lectures now published he has examined with his great learning and clear insight the period in which Western culture was in formation, and he tries to show how dynamic and fundamental a part religion played in that formation. But if in the first series Mr. Dawson, in a manner not unknown among Roman Catholic writers, laid too little emphasis upon the distinctive elements in Christian religion, in this second series he seems to be too exclusively concerned with one trend in culture and with one trend in Christian Religion. But for all that it must be remembered that the history of which Mr. Dawson writes is the history of us all, at any rate of all of us in the West, for he covers the period between the overthrow of the Roman Empire by the northern barbarians in the sixth century and the great age of Dante in the thirteenth. The history is written by a Roman Catholic, but it is not of exclusively Roman history that he writes.

In the gloom and menace of the twentieth century, when Western European culture is threatened with destruction, many Europeans reflect with some pathos that theirs has been a Christian culture. Few of us would deny that reflection; but few of us could give it factual substance. It is one great merit of Mr. Dawson's book that he does this for us. Two points stand out most clearly. The European culture which we have inherited arose at the point when the Roman Empire was vanquished and the Christian Church came to the conquering barbarians "as the bearer of a higher civilization". It was the Christian Church which enabled the gifts of Greece and Rome to be passed on to the new Europe, and Mr. Dawson has told us, with no little detail, how very effectively this was done. In a most interesting chapter he records the important part played by the monks of Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England both in the formation of our traditions in our own islands and, by missionary activity, in the development of the same cultural tendencies on the continent. A second great movement which stands out in Mr. Dawson's story is the great reforming movement of the tenth to thirteenth centuries. As he says, neither critics nor admirers have "paid sufficient attention to the element of conflict which characterized the creative centuries of the Middle Ages. . . . The creative centuries of medieval culture owed their unity, not to the absence of strife, but to the fact that the party of reform, which was the dynamic element in medieval culture, for a time attained a position of cultural leadership through its alliance with the governing element in the Church".

This should itself commend the book to 'reformed' Churchmen, and Congregationalists will be interested to note a reference to Marsilius of Padua who was, in Mr. Dawson's judgment, one of the heralds of the new world. He held that the ultimate principle of social authority is the *'universitas civium'*—the whole body of citizens. That could be tolerated in the Middle Ages. What made Marsilius really belong to sixteenth-century Zurich or seventeenth-century England was his application of this principle to the Church, and the abandonment of hierarchical authority in favour of the *'communitas fidelium'*—the judgment of the general body of the faithful, of which the clergy are the ministers and employees. This is very near to Congregationalism as we inherit and still understand it.

There is so much to be grateful for in this book that it seems churlish to

lodge any complaint. I found the claim that we have the whole history of Christendom traceable in the full light of history rather too strong. If Christendom is to be identified, as subsequent sentences imply, with the history of the Christian Church, we have still to reckon with a great deal of absence of record, to say nothing of those who hold that the Church began with Abraham. And the split between East and West, so fateful for the whole development of our Western Culture, seems to receive quite inadequate treatment. But this is a book which Christians of all persuasions, historians, Marxists and humanists should all read; for it is of fundamental importance to know the nature of the culture we inherit, whether we desire to preserve, reform, destroy or save it.

The Directive in History. By HENRY NELSON WIEMAN. Beacon Press. $2.

Faith and History. By REINHOLD NIEBUHR. Nisbet. 16s.

The Belief in Progress. By JOHN BAILLIE. O.U.P. 10s. 6d.

The events of this century have shaken us out of our various liberalisms—religious, metaphysical and political, which in one way or another encouraged us to think that by the on-going processes of evolution, we would very shortly reach a Utopian goal. These three books offer us somewhat different answers to the question, if the old liberalism must go, what can we put in its place?

Professor Wieman believes that liberalism can be reasserted, and for him the important thing is to find the 'directive' that is in history. That 'directive' he identifies with the creation of meaning which is not a human construction, but the precipitation in the human mind of the significance of the processes of creation and history. And yet in spite of this attempt to avoid subjectivism, Professor Wieman finally has to say that man must himself fashion society aright to avoid an otherwise inevitable self-destruction. The new liberalism, like the old, ends in affirming the centrality of man.

The other two books will have none of this. Dr. Niebuhr is quite content to begin where the doctrine of progress has left off and will allow no refuge in the devices by which the confident belief in progress seeks to adapt itself to our modern tragedies. His starting point is the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, in which the whole meaning of history is disclosed. The task of the Christian theologian is thus to interpret history in the light of those events, though it is important to remember even so, that the ability to do this comes in the end, not by philosophical reflection, but through faith. There are some searching chapters on the concept of freedom in history, with Niebuhr as a very radical critic of our confidence in human freedom. Our freedom is a severely limited affair, limited by time and circumstances, but above all by our sin. Human reason, therefore, cannot in the end tidy up the confusions of history which sin has caused. Ultimately it is only God's forgiveness of man that can overcome the confusions of history and make every part of it significant. There is thus no room for confidence in progress, rather must we expect the dramatic conflict of good and evil to assert itself in all the developing phases of history and by all the developing instruments that man devises. The one thing that keeps us from despair is the victorious activity of God in Jesus Christ in history which has redeemed the process and ourselves in it. Man is continually tempted to assert his own mastery over history, instead of accepting his place in it as God's creature. But while it is true that in God's purpose we are meant to master some areas of life, our dominion is limited most of all by the fact that all human achievements occur in a world where both natural and historical forces will frustrate and hinder as well as in part fulfil our human desires

and ambitions. This profound analysis is the basic criticism of all our human temptations to think of ourselves as masters of our fate in politics or society or our individual life. The Christian religion, with its assertion of God's sovereignty over man and his history, is the one cure for this pride which makes us think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think. These basic views are worked out in sustained reference to the alternative views that are being advanced both inside and outside the Church today. This is a great book which will stimulate, disturb and in the end greatly strengthen us.

Dr. Baillie limits his enquiry to the belief in progress. This is altogether a quieter book than Niebuhr's, though it is, in its own way, as profound and, at one or two points, has real force against Niebuhr, who, however, is mentioned only twice in the course of the book. The book gives a very valuable account of the history of man's belief in progress, beginning with the Greek historians and coming down to our own day when evolution has done so much to enhance the doctrine. But valuable as that is, I think the questions that Baillie asks in his last chapter are perhaps the most important part of his work. Christianity is inevitably eschatological, though Christians are always in difficulty in trying to define their eschatology. Some would interpret it wholly in terms of what is to come at the end of history, others almost exclusively in what has taken place in history at the Cross and Resurrection. But are the years between the Resurrection and the End of any significance at all? Dr. Baillie believes that the New Testament gives us some indication that this is so, and he finds it in the clear expectation of the New Testament that the Gospel will be preached throughout the earth. He would conclude that there is, in Christian faith, therefore a very confident hope for the future course of history in this world. We need to recapture this if we are to set about our evangelistic task with proper zeal and hope. In saying this Dr. Baillie has added a weighty contribution to the contemporary discussion of history. If the events of the Cross and Resurrection are themselves the introduction of the End into history, it would seem that the proclamation of these events and their constant recalling in the Eucharistic action of the Church must be of more than merely temporal significance, and therefore be, not only a factor in history, but one which in some measure may be said to control it.

JOHN MARSH.

The Catholicity of Protestantism. Ed. R. NEWTON FLEW and RUPERT E. DAVIES. Lutterworth Press. 5s.

A Free Church team, among whom the Congregationalists were Drs. Lovell Cocks, John Marsh and Nathaniel Micklem, has produced a reply to *Catholicity* (Dacre Press, 1947), in which certain "advanced" Anglicans reported to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the conflict between "catholic" and "protestant" traditions in the West, and gave their answer to the questions "whether, and to what extent, these traditions were conflicting or complementary; how, if at all, they could be held together within one church". Here the same questions receive different treatment. *Catholicity* displayed a remarkable ignorance of the nature of Protestantism; and its authors were unsound about Justification by Faith. Dr. Flew's formidable team discloses and seeks to correct this ignorance, and to show a remedy for this unsoundness. It would be wrong, however, to give the impression that this book is merely a reply to *Catholicity*. It succeeds in that to admiration; but it does much more. It raises in a profound and acute fashion the whole issue of reunion as English Free Church people see it. Here is controversy at once learned, apposite, courteous, and forthright. Three questions emerge: (i) can we hope that the "spikier" Anglicans will learn to stop tilting at a cartoon of Protestantism, and start to understand and deal with the real

thing? (ii) can Free Churchmen contemplate union with those who deny, evade, or misunderstand such doctrines as Justification by Faith? (iii) can any of us hope to succeed in the enterprise of reunion unless and until we have cleared our minds on the nature of authority? JOHN HUXTABLE.

The Genius of Europe. By HAVELOCK ELLIS. Williams & Norgate. 12s. 6d.

This is a collection of essays, the earliest written in 1916 and the latest, on Nationalism and Peace, in 1939, not long before the author's death. They are, however, in no sense 'dated', except of course that recent events are excluded from consideration. This is less important than it may seem, for the author's aim is to describe the permanent elements in the genius of England, France, Germany, Spain and Russia, and so to account for the policies that have collided so violently in these last years and to provide a basis for an estimate of things likely to come. Ellis writes as a materialist who has rediscovered the meaning of the saying of Heraclitus that 'conflict is the father of all things'. He does not look for any easily reached unity in Europe, much less in the world.

The most interesting essays are those on England and Russia. The latter extends to 100 pages and is worth careful reading now that the rest of Europe and indeed the world has to live more intimately with Russia than ever before in history. What manner of people are they, these newcomers in our midst? Certainly they do not conform to the pattern built upon the foundation of Rome and shaped by the philosophy of Greece and the religion of the Bible. If Ellis is right Christianity has been a negligible influence (this in spite of Berdyaev who believed that Holy Russia was indestructible and would assert itself when the violence of the Marxist revolution had worked itself out). Certainly the Puritanism which has been the dominant influence in Britain and America since the seventeenth century has had no counterpart in Russia. Berdyaev's recent Autobiography amply confirms this. At the root of the Russian character is an apathy which needs the stimulus of violent eruption from within or violent shock from without, and this is allied to a profound capacity for suffering. There is a Russian national game in which the winner is not the one who knocks his opponent down but he who receives most blows without giving in. This is indeed the Russia we are slowly coming to know.

The flowering period of the Russian genius in the arts, notably in the novel—there is little Russian poetry—and music was not earlier than the nineteenth century, which Ellis likens to the Elizabethan period in England. The same violence, the same morbidity as is found, for example, in *Hamlet* is found both in Russian literature and life in the nineteenth century, with the great difference that in Russia a savage tyranny in State and Church repressed any attempt to break through political or religious orthodoxy. Now the new tyrannies of Marxism and industrialism have replaced the rigidities of medievalism with no breathing space between. In the presence of Russia 'vast, youthful and barbaric' we cannot speak or think too easily of one world or even of one Church. This book ought not to be missed.

J. MILLS PHILLIPS.

Psychology and Mental Health. By J. A. HADFIELD. Allen & Unwin. 18s.

This work contains the substance of lectures on Psychopathology and Mental Hygiene in London University over a period of more than twenty years. Dr. Hadfield states that in psychopathology he differs from Freud, Jung and Adler in many fundamental respects; whilst he learns from them all, he develops his own individual line. The book is in three parts: (1) General: the theory of character development, normal and abnormal, leading up to the problem of neurosis. (2) Clinical: a consideration of

psychosomatic, psychoneurotic and sexual disorders. (3) Technique and treatment.

Dr. Hadfield writes for the layman who is prepared to go to some trouble and do some serious reading, in order to understand human nature. Here is a solid meal for those who recognize that the snack bar of popular articles and little books on psychology does not go far in producing real enlightenment.

In tracing all emotional disorders of personality and health to an ultimate root, not in classic Freudian frustration of the sexual pleasure-motive, but in the child's need of protective love from parents, Dr. Hadfield makes a welcome shift of emphasis. It is strange that he takes no account of the rise of the new "object-relationships" theory in recent years, which corrects Freudian theory at just this important point.

All psycho-analysts and probably most psycho-therapists would join issue with Dr. Hadfield over his attitude to "transference". The transference of infantile emotions on to present-day objects is a part of life itself, and it is difficult to see how it can be got round in treatment other than by analyzing the transference. This, however, is a technical matter of treatment. The book is a mine of important information and enlightenment for those who seek to know themselves and the people they have to deal with.

H. J. S. GUNTRIP.

An Introduction to New Testament Thought. By F. C. GRANT. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York. $3.75.

Our great need is for a New Testament Theology which takes full account of research since 1919, and the volume before us does much to fill this lacuna. The author is Professor of the New Testament at Union Theological Seminary, and he appears in this book as an inspiring teacher with an eye on the need of the present-day world for Biblical truth. Many of his chapters begin with a reference to the trend of recent discussion, but the author's own independence of judgment is a marked feature throughout. His standpoint is liberal-critical, but he well realizes the need for a positive theological interpretation, which he would describe as "after all the real historical interpretation" (p. 207). It is impossible not to admire the combined learning and lucidity of this book, and, we would add, the outspokenness of its generalizations and *obiter dicta*. "The problem of our present-day theology is that its right wing has collapsed, while its center and left are imperilled; perhaps the only safety . . . is to recapture once more the lost ground of the ancient, naïve, simple, realistic piety out of which the *N.T.* arose". "The church did not sail with sealed orders, to be opened at Lat. x Long. y". "Fundamentalism plus activism does not equal Christianity".

We would commend especially the chapter on Christology for the way in which it co-ordinates the various types of thinking about Christ and relates them to the developing *experience* of the Church, and not alone to its study of the Sayings of Jesus or to its sometimes strained exegesis of the *O.T.*; and further, the fact that it makes more intelligible than is usually done the progress from Judaism to Hellenism within the Church.

But we are drawn to join issue on the following points: (1) The element of variety seems to be overstressed, resulting in a certain isolation of Paul from the rest of the *N.T.* As a counterweight to this, Dodd's exposition of the middle chapters of *Romans* and the works of Anderson Scott should be consulted. (2) The discussion of Revelation and Scripture hardly directs attention enough to the creative acts of God which are the very *fons et origo* of the Christian community and subsequently of the writings in which the community records that experience. (3) The section on miracles rightly

defines the Resurrection as the crowning miracle and interprets all in relation to the energy of God which was creating a new order; but in the consideration of individual miracles the question of whether they actually happened seems to be left open! (4) The chapter on Ethics—probably the least satisfactory in the book—is written with more enthusiasm than judgment. While rightly insisting on the ethical concern of the *N.T.*, it does not rightly relate it to the fundamental religious dynamic. As a result the distinctiveness of Jesus is minimized, a too rigid distinction is made between Jesus and Paul, James is put too prominently in a place of honour, and we are asked to consider the Gospel as "the greatest agrarian protest in all history". One has the feeling that the proportions are all wrong here; and why is not more said about the activity of the Spirit as a moral force, or about the implication of such a key verse as *Rom.* 8[4]?

The Work and Words of Jesus. By Dr. A. M. Hunter. S.C.M. 12s. 6d.

This is an attempt to provide divinity students with a Life of Christ which takes full account of critical scholarship. The author's own teaching had revealed the need, for "our *N.T.* scholars nowadays are not writing 'Lives' of Christ". The gap is magnificently filled by this book. No use is made of the Fourth Gospel, and we have an excellent summary statement of the prevailing attitude of scholarship to the main problems; *e.g.*, the tendency to disuse the Similitudes of Enoch for the explanation of Jesus' use of the term "Son of Man"; against Form Criticism Dr. Hunter accepts the Synoptic Gospels as good historical accounts of the ministry; the argument for the influence of *Isaiah* 53 on Jesus is set down very convincingly for all its brevity. Dr. Hunter goes further than most in acceptance of T. W. Manson's theory that Jesus conceived Messiahship corporately. It is by no means to be assumed that Dr. Hunter is a mere popularizer of the views of others. His summaries are models of judicious criticism. Difficulties are frankly stated, *e.g.*, on Miracles and the Resurrection. This book makes one realize what fruitful work on the Gospels was done in the inter-war period, and what an expert harvester is the author himself. E. C. Blackman.

The Meaning of Beauty. By Eric Newton. Longmans. 15s.

Sooner or later, the need to justify his practical judgments forces the art critic to launch out into the stormy waters of theory. Here the trained philosopher, even if his taste be as limited as was Kant's, is moving in a familiar medium, while the critic too often finds his specialized knowledge a burden and founders. Eric Newton, who confesses to having been 'goaded' into this intellectual adventure, comes through better than most. He refuses to admit that he is writing a treatise on æsthetics and dismisses the professional æstheticians with almost scandalous perfunctoriness; the repudiation is, however, one of method rather than of substance. Reviving the theory of the mathematical basis of beauty, Mr. Newton attempts a welcome reversal of the present fashion of concentrating upon æsthetic experience and denying objective status to the work of art which stimulates the experience. Yet, since he is a sane and sensitive critic rather than a philosopher, the value of the book does not depend upon the cogency of his central thesis; the method vindicates itself. If the foundation of beauty and taste is not established in a manner which silences our questions, our understanding is enlarged by a shrewd exploration of the complex nature of a work of art (illustrated by a fine analysis of a picture by Veronese) and a telling historical survey of changing tastes. Specialist and common reader alike cannot fail to benefit from Mr. Newton's informed and vigorous commentary, which is full of the inspired flashes of insight which made his *Introduction to European Painting* so enjoyable. K. M. Hamilton.

SHORTER NOTICES & DESCRIPTIVE LIST

What is writing? Why write? For whom do writers write? To each of these questions M. J-P. Sartre in *What is Literature?* (Methuen, 12s. 6d.) supplies brilliant, aggressive, closely reasoned but quite unconvincing answers. According to him, the imaginative writer must write in order to change the world. But how far was Homer interested in social reform? Has the motive behind great literature changed since Shakespeare's day? What great writer ever wrote except because he had to, or to give pleasure, or for money? Unless, in fact, one happens to share M. Sartre's philosophy, one will hardly agree with his æsthetic. But as a stimulus to thought and for its many penetrating dicta by the way, this book is well worth reading. The translation, by Mr. Bernard Frechtman, is excellent.

Dr. C. M. Bowra's *The Romantic Imagination* (O.U.P., 18s.) consists of the texts of lectures given at Harvard University in 1948-9. An introductory lecture is followed by revaluations of important works by ten of the chief poets of the Romantic era, from Blake to Christina Rossetti, including E. A. Poe, and the book ends with a summary entitled "The Romantic Achievement." This is, in the best sense of the word, a "popular" work. Dr. Bowra, whose wide knowledge of European poetry gives him a certain advantage over the specialist, never forgets, as specialists too often do, that poetry is meant to be enjoyed.

In *The Poet Wordsworth* (O.U.P., 7s. 6d.), being the Clark Lectures of 1949, Miss Helen Darbishire wisely concentrates upon the poet's great creative decade, 1798-1808, and wastes no space in analyzing the poetry of his long decline. Unlike the majority of recent critics, she is interested in the author of the *Lyrical Ballads* rather than in the lover of Annette Vallon. There is much in this sympathetic and penetrating study for the general reader, and for the scholar a minute examination of the chronology of *The Prelude* and a comparison between the versions of 1805 and 1850, which makes clear the division between the two Wordsworths, the inspired artist and the stubborn craftsman.

Thackeray: A Reconsideration (O.U.P., 12s. 6d.), by Professor J. Y. T. Greig, is not strictly a biography, but a character study and an analysis of the influence of the novelist's life on his writings. At once light and learned, it is the first important work on Thackeray to take account of his recently-published letters. This book is beautifully produced, and a pleasure to read and to handle.

Nobody will question the sincerity of the emotions or the value of the ideas expressed in *Songs of Self and God* (James Clarke, 7s. 6d.) by the late Dr. A. T. Cadoux. Technically, however, they are less excellent. As Songs should, they rhyme very well, but are rhythmically rather monotonous, and the transitions from 'poetic' to colloquial diction are sometimes disconcertingly abrupt. As poems, the most successful pieces are those in which, as in "The Meadow", the poet's eye is fixed on a definite object. The book includes a brief memoir and a portrait of the author.

Mr. Frank Kendon's *The Small Years*, an account of his childhood in the country 50 years ago, originally published in 1930, is now re-issued (C.U.P., 12s. 6d.) with an additional chapter, entitled "Christmas Day". The quality of this book is well suggested by Mr. Walter de la Mare, who speaks in his Introduction of its "lovely truth and clarity".

Writing of F. D. Maurice, in *The Evolution of Congregationalism* (1901), Dr. Mackennal suggested that "when it can be appraised, it will be seen that his abiding influence has been, not on English Churchmen but on English Congregationalists". Dr. H. G. Wood, in *Frederick Denison Maurice* (C.U.P., 10s. 6d.), the revised edition of his Dale lectures of 1942-3, confirms and illustrates this judgment. He studies Maurice's life and thought in relation to his own times, devoting a chapter to each of his important writings, and considers his contributions to education and social ethics. In doing so he well suggests the fascination of this 'saintlike' and many-sided man. Pupil of Coleridge and opponent of Newman, Maurice was not only an influential theologian but also, among other things, the author of a novel, a professor of English Literature and History, the founder of Queen's College, London, and, with Charles Kingsley, the fosterer of 'Christian Socialism'. But what gives this lucid book a more than academic interest is the author's conviction that Maurice was in advance of his time, that his principles are peculiarly relevant to our own period, and that it is possible now to appreciate this enigmatic and unduly neglected figure as never before. In preparing his lectures for publication, Dr. Wood has drawn on "the fine appreciation of the influence of Maurice" contributed by Dr. F. J. Powicke to *The Congregational Quarterly* in April 1930. P. A. SPALDING.

Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, edited by H. H. Rowley (T. & T. Clark, 16s.). This is a collection of essays, including one in German and one in French, written by different *O.T.* scholars and presented as a "Festschrift" to T. H. Robinson on his 65th birthday. It is a first class piece of work. Three essays in particular will interest the minister. The first, by Henton Davies, deals with the tradition brought into Israel from the desert, showing its influence on the Hebrew idea of society and its relevance to our own day. The second, by N. Snaith, deals with the "Servant" in Deutero-Isaiah. The treatment is clear and is of outstanding value to the exegete. Snaith takes a line of his own and defends it ably. The third, by N. Porteous, deals with the ethical teaching of the Prophets. This is quite the best brief treatment of the subject in English. It mediates much recent study on the subject in a readable manner. It is a good example of theological and religious interpretation.

From Joseph to Joshua, by H. H. Rowley (British Academy, by Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.), being the Schweich Lectures for 1948. This is a very important work. The sub-title is the "Biblical Traditions in the Light of Archæology". Rowley provides an expert survey of the best recent work on the Exodus and the Entry of Israel into Palestine. He handles the history, the archæology and the Biblical traditions with a sure touch. Chapter I deals with "The Extra-Biblical Evidence". Chapter II deals with "The Biblical Traditions". His third and final chapter is entitled "Synthesis". This chapter is noteworthy both for its positive conclusions and its attractive modesty. The strength of the book lies in two factors: (a) his balanced discussion on the relative merits of archæological evidence on the one hand and the Biblical evidence on the other, and (b) his realization of the importance of the work of Moses for the understanding of the religion. In this connection the book forms a helpful contribution to Old Testament Theology. There is an error on page 135. The name "Joseph" should be read instead of "Moses" in the fourth line. JAMES WOOD.

Dr. L. P. Jacks has translated from the French A. Loisy's *The Origins of the New Testament* (Allen & Unwin, 18s.), according to which the primitive Church's mistaken expectation of the coming of Christ from heaven was

replaced by the feeling of His presence, and *only then* followed by the *invention* of the "Gospel legend", which formed the catechesis for new converts to the cult of Jesus whose Messiahship was now antedated to His earthly life. The Gospels are thus almost entirely collections of second-century fabrications. It is strange reading.

Dr. H. E. Fosdick, in *The Man from Nazareth as His Contemporaries Saw Him* (S.C.M., 12s. 6d.), has attempted "an indirect method of approach" to the portraiture of Jesus, in order to avoid the dangers of subjectivism which has produced largely divergent "lives". It becomes easier for us to see Jesus as He really was if we try to look at Him through the eyes of those among whom He moved—the crowds, the scribes and Pharisees, the outcasts, the disciples, the nationalists, and others. The result is an admirably written book enriched with numerous scriptural references and clearly indebted to much of the most reliable results of scholarship. On p. 66 the man with seven wives should, of course, be a woman with seven husbands.

The Person and Work of Christ, by the late Dr. B. B. Warfield (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, $4.50), is a volume of 575 pages containing reprints of articles and three sermons. An earlier volume, *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible* (reviewed in the January 1950 number) supported an infallible Bible. This gives us a good idea of what to expect. Nor are we disappointed. Here is "orthodoxy" in the narrowest sense of the word. But even those of us who are evangelical without being "fundamentalist" may at least agree with the author that the only Jesus is the Jesus of the New Testament, though we may differ in interpreting the New Testament. The absence of an index from such a large volume is rather surprising.

Canon Marcus Knight's *Spiritualism, Reincarnation, and Immortality* (Duckworth, 6s.) is one of the *Colet Library* series. Nothing new is offered in this pleasantly written little book, but it may be commended for its clarity in showing that the Christian doctrine is one of *resurrection*, and is based on the doctrine of a God of love and righteousness, and is not to be confused with other views of human destiny. There are, unfortunately, many misprints and several examples of slipshod grammar. The saying of Jesus about God not being the God of the dead, but of the living is wrongly attributed to the Fourth Gospel.

A. J. B. Higgins.

Mr. C. A. Richardson, in *Knowledge, Reality and Life* (Harrap, 15s.), has given a sketch of a general theory of knowledge and then applied it to physics, psychology, biology, ethics, and life. His standpoint is idealistic and the book represents the higher hedonism. Religion has very little space in the book: the author thinks "that religion is necessary to all; that religions necessarily differ, no one having *the* truth of the matter; and that the ultimate test of a religion is eutonic" (*i.e.*, that it gives satisfaction). The book will appeal to only a limited class of readers.

Miss A. K. Clarke has written up into a book talks given to elder girls at the Cheltenham Ladies' College and has called it *The Universal Character of Christianity* (Faber, 8s. 6d.). She is a classical scholar and the book is written with clarity and distinction. She has set Christianity in the midst of the world's religions as "claiming to authenticate by its testimony that sense of overwhelming Power and Existence which has been with man from the beginning". Her dogmatic framework may not satisfy everyone (Congregationalists would like to see a less exclusive position ascribed to sacraments); but her intention is not to propound a theology but to elucidate its meaning in terms of experience. The book will enrich the understanding of many, and not only those in the sixth forms of schools.

The Truth of the Gospel, by Dr. G. B. Caird (O.U.P., 6s. 6d.; School Edn. 5s.), is an excellent addition to the series called *A Primer of Christianity,* which is directed largely towards meeting the needs of sixth forms in schools. It contains two chapters on clearing the ground from obstacles of theory and of fact before expounding the meaning of the Christian faith and life. The book covers much the same ground as the supplementary volume in the same series—*Science, History and Faith,* by Alan Richardson—but this is not necessarily a disadvantage. The writers are quite different in their style and approach, and their agreement on so many important issues should reinforce the truth of the Christian faith. The difference is that Dr. Richardson's book is distinctive for the quality of its thinking, whereas Dr. Caird's book, while based on sound scholarship and careful thinking, is remarkable for the vividness and concreteness of his communication of the Gospel. It is admirably designed to meet the needs of schools, and will also be a stimulus to preachers.

Many books could do with two reviews: one for the truth which it expounds, and one for the way in which it expounds the truth. Here these two aspects are made clear in two books by the same author. Canon Alan Richardson has followed his book *Christian Apologetics* (S.C.M.) with *Science, History and Faith* (O.U.P., 6s. 6d.; School Edn. 5s.). The smaller book, though it contains much that is new, is in substance a simplified form of the former, 'both for adults and for young people leaving school who are willing to think for themselves about the Christian faith'. It is an outline of Christian theology based on the conviction that theology is a science resting on historical testimony. The book is written in a clear, confident and fluent style, and is an admirable addition to the literature available for sixth forms in secondary schools. I warmly commend it. H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

Kierkegaard The Melancholy Dane, by H. V. Martin (Philosophers' Library, No. 3, Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.). Within the space of 100 pages, and from the Christian standpoint, Dr. Martin has written an excellent book about Kierkegaard. Two chapters are biographical and introductory; the remaining ten chapters contain a first-rate exposition of Kierkegaard's thought. Here, in answer to our modern curiosity, is a succinct and challenging definition of Christian existentialism. We cannot afford to ignore the word of Kierkegaard to the Churches, nor his answer to the perpetually haunting question of what it means to be a Christian in the New Testament sense; and Dr. Martin's work conveys with splendid force this fundamental Christian concern.

Introduction to Kierkegaard, by Regis Jolivet. Translated by W. H. Barber (Frederick Muller, 15s.). The work of M. Jolivet, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in the Catholic University of Lyon, who undertook, four years ago, to give 'a general but nevertheless precise account' of Kierkegaard and his writings, has now been rendered into fluent English by Mr. W. H. Barber. The opening biography is followed by an equally brief account of Kierkegaard's spiritual life—an account which includes the attempted analysis of his still obscure melancholy. The third and principal section assembles S.K.'s thought along the pathway of the three stages of life, while the conclusion compares Kierkegaard with Luther. Though M. Jolivet's criticisms bear the marks of his own religious persuasion, he sets before us the Christian greatness as well as the 'magnificent riches' of Kierkegaard, nor does he fail to recognize those most opportune lessons for our time which Kierkegaard has to teach. The work is well annotated and testifies to an intimate acquaintance with its subject. CONRAD BONIFAZI.

In *Episcopacy and the Royal Supremacy in the Church of England in the XVI Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 10s. 6d.), the Rev. E. T. Davies presents a careful study of the collision between the two concepts. On the one hand, "while it is true that no Anglican writer applies the term *jure divino* to episcopacy, the implication that this institution is by divine right is clear enough"; on the other, from 1534 to 1559 "the authority of bishops as Ordinaries was suspended" and in other ways "the substance of the Supremacy threatened the spiritual authority of the church". His conclusion is that the Supremacy not only "was necessary for the very unity of the Church of England after 1534, otherwise it would have been split into a number of autonomous dioceses", it also actually "preserved the episcopal character of the church in this period".

The Rev. W. A. L. Vincent's *The State and School Education 1640-1660 in England and Wales: a survey based on printed sources* (S.P.C.K., 11s. 6d.) is a useful and thorough piece of work, with a list appended of some 1,400 grammar schools, arranged by counties. The actions of Parliament and its committees and commissions, contemporary educational ideas and projects in sermons and writings, and the careers (often interrupted) of both Royalist and Puritan schoolmasters all receive attention: the change of front producing a many-sided picture rather than a consistent line of argument. It is right that this side of Puritan religious and social concern should be acknowledged. "Never had the educational impulse been so deep and warm": Mr. Vincent's work certainly bears out this comment on the period by Professor Foster Watson.

English readers must be grateful to Professor J. Lindeboom of Groningen for having had his *Austin Friars: History of the Dutch Reformed Church in London 1550-1950* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 26s.) translated into English. The story of this community is of unusual interest from several points of view. Receiving a charter from Edward VI, it was honoured as mother and nurse of all Netherlands Reformed churches, and in times when they were persecuted did much to succour them. Archbishop Laud did his utmost to suppress it, but the church held on its way, and still flourishes, despite the recent bombing of its buildings. Although it was always careful to dissociate itself from Brownists and other Separatists, the church books, from which much material is drawn, will be found to run *pari passu* with those of Congregational churches throughout its story. Professor Lindeboom not only relates the Church's history but provides chapters on its concern with doctrine and discipline and on its philanthropic and social activities. The translation is often unidiomatic but never unintelligible.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Catholicism, a study of Dogma in relation to the Corporate Destiny of Mankind, by Henri de Lubac (Burns Oates, 15s.). This book is learned, interesting and religious. Its learning is indicated by the notes at the end of the chapters and by an appendix of some 70 pages containing extracts mostly from patristic sources in translation. This parade of erudition is very convenient for a Roman Catholic theologian who, if he is to say something rather startingly new, should be able to shew that his doctrine is entirely traditional and orthodox. Hence the interest of his book. He is arguing against that individualism which, often laid to the charge of Protestantism, is certainly not less an offence of Roman theology. Christ is the Saviour not merely of favoured individuals but of humanity. This is also a religious book because the insight from which it starts and which it expounds with force and learning is a deepened and enlarged understanding

of the saving work of Christ. There are many things in these pages with which Protestants will not concur, and many from which they may learn much. N. MICKLEM.

African Ideas of God, edited by Edwin W. Smith (Lutterworth Press, 21s.), contains twelve essays, written by missionaries with intimate knowledge of the peoples of whom they write. The areas considered cover Africa south of the Sahara. An introductory essay by the editor discusses the results of the individual studies and puts the whole subject into perspective.

Each essay includes a brief description of the culture of the people concerned, and some reference to the effect of contacts with the Western world, but their aim is deliberately limited to an exposition of African ideas of God; no attempt is made to describe African religions as a whole or to draw out the implications of the concepts discussed for theology or for the Christian missionary enterprise.

Its first-hand quality and scholarly approach make the book an authoritative contribution to the understanding of African thought and to the comparative study of religions. R. K. ORCHARD.

"Ruth and Jonah are not just specimens of ancient Hebraic literature; they are contemporary documents, through which the Word of God is spoken to our generation now". So Prof. A. F. Knight states the angle from which he writes the latest volume in the Torch Commentaries, *Ruth and Jonah* (S.C.M., 6s.). He is fortunate in his subject as these books lend themselves particularly to this kind of treatment. Each is a story, the text is not unduly difficult, the purpose and meaning of the whole is everything. Prof. Knight finely fulfils his purpose and in a most illuminating way reveals the many points at which the Word of God in Ruth and Jonah is spoken directly to our generation. This commentary does not in any way supersede the older type, such as the ICC. It is enough praise for this to say that the scholar-preacher must have both.

From the S.C.M. Press comes a book which is in every way worthy of the man it would honour. *The Enduring Gospel* (Ed. R. Gregor Smith, S.C.M., 7s. 6d.) is a volume of essays with a preface dedicated "with affection and respect" to Dr. Hugh Martin as he retires from the Editorship of the S.C.M. Press. A foreword by Dr. Tissington Tatlow is followed by four essays on The Gospel in the O.T., the N.T., the World, and the Church, and then by three further essays on The Gospel and the Contemporary Mind, the Student, and the Common Man. Here is rich food for thought and meat for many sermons.

One takes up a book about the Oxford Group with trepidation. Will it be one more effusion by and for the Group: or will it be yet another exasperated retort? *Drawing Room Conversion* by Dr. Allan W. Eister (Duke University Press and C.U.P., 26s.) is neither. It is a scientific study of the Group as a phenomenon of Church history and an attempt to classify it. There is very little criticism. The balanced and informed descriptions and history of the Group largely leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. The book knows more about the American scene that the British. It is dear. But for anyone who is seriously interested in the subject this is undoubtedly the best study of it yet to hand.

Are there not signs that the great contemporary emphasis upon Transcendence is spending itself and that the complementary truth is already receiving renewed attention? Such a question is prompted by *The Human Outlook* by T. E. Morris (Independent Press, 8s. 6d.). It is the work of one who is at home among many books but who is not thereby prevented from

thinking along his own lines about God's dealing with man and man's experience of the Divine. The book is not easy to read, nor is all its argument acceptable (notably its Christology), but it is so fresh and thoughtful as to deserve attention.

David Cairns (S.C.M. 12s. 6d.) consists of a 30 pp. Memoir by Dr. D. M. Baillie, 150pp. of Autobiography, and 30pp. of selected Letters. Would that each section were three times as long! Dr. Baillie's Memoir gives one a balanced survey of Cairns's life and work, especially of his place as a theological thinker. Cairns himself then takes over and holds a magnifying glass over the first forty-five years. The Letters all come from the latter period not covered by the autobiography. Unforgettable pictures are given of childhood in a Scottish manse, of parish school, of Edinburgh and Marburg Universities. There are intimate pictures of some notable persons and of the simple folk to whom Cairns ministered for nine years. And we learn of the travail of mind and heart that made Cairns a theologian. The reader should beware of the delightfully easy, conversational style. Passing on too rapidly he may miss the wealth of counsel and suggestion which this book holds.

Doctrine, Duty and Devotion by G. H. Midgley (Mowbray, 10s. 6d.), is a book that would have commended itself to Dale: but by its method rather than by its matter. Here is a scheme for a three-year course of teaching sermons, 126 in all, whose contents are aptly described in the alliterative title. The actual sermon notes are not likely to appeal to Free Churchmen: but no one will study the scheme without being led out into fascinating new fields and finding suggestions for new short courses of profitable addresses.

Two new books on the teaching of Albert Schweitzer come together. Lt.-Col. E. N. Mozley is convinced that there has been something akin to a boycott of Schweitzer by British theologians. Therefore in *The Theology of Albert Schweitzer* (A. & C. Black, 7s. 6d.), he gives a seventy-page anthology of striking utterances from his four major N.T. works. To this Dr. Schweitzer himself has added a thirty-page Essay on "The Concept of the Kingdom of God in the Transformation of Eschatology". Few will want to miss this Essay. The selections will serve a useful purpose if they direct students to the major works. A writer so copious and original as Schweitzer is not well served by quotation, nor does a man of such proved ability need the fulsome praise of pp. 18, 71 and 78. A much tougher book appears from the practised pen of George Seaver, *Albert Schweitzer, A Vindication* (J. Clarke, 6s.). This is a reply in detail to J. Middleton Murry's *The Challenge of Albert Schweitzer*. Its tone is tart, rising at times to indignation and sinking at times to abuse. Yet there is left no doubt that Mr. Seaver knows his subject, and those who work through this book will have a much deeper understanding of the theology and philosophy of Schweitzer. At the same time it is no fun having to dodge in and out between the combatants in order to gain this.

To read the life of Leyton Richards by his wife, *Private View of a Public Man* by Edith Ryley Richards (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.), is to see and hear him again. He was good to see. Of commanding height, with a fine freshness of appearance (well-illustrated in this book), he inspired confidence. He was good to hear. His voice rang out and mind and will were stimulated. More than once his congregation was moved to open applause, immediately checked but not unseemly. The logic of severe thinking and terrible toil in preparation left Leyton Richards convinced he was right. He made his hearers share that conviction or, failing that, deeply respect it. His was an ethical gospel, although at times he preached theology with

all the ardour of a Dale. That some aspects of the gospel were less apparent than others cannot be denied: but it would be miserable ingratitude not to be entirely thankful for what was offered, even if it meant having to follow the old Presbyterian lady who declared that she could not face Leyton Richards's Sunday morning sermon unless she had bacon and egg for breakfast. It would do some of our churches good to meditate on this biography. God gave a great gift to us in Leyton Richards. Yet how easily his original contribution might have been stifled, or he driven out of the ministry, but for the patience of his churches. They let him be himself and we shared in their reward. For like John Williams, Leyton Richards was a man of wide horizons. Hence his work for peace, told carefully here and set against the background of the internationalism of his early years and of his later ministry. Here we see how all his life Richards leaned toward the Friends and finally joined them, still with typical independence maintaining that they could learn something from Congregationalism. Here we see the domestic sacrifices demanded of a public man, shared nobly by a wife whom his people loved for her modesty and respected for her ability. Neither was ever seen to greater advantage than in this competent and satisfying book. J. WILDING.

Not only his friends in the Free Churches and the Missionary Societies, but all who are interested in colonial problems and the relations between the white and coloured peoples, will welcome *Negro Victory*—the life story of Dr. Harold Moody by the Rev. David A. Vaughan (Independent Press, 7s. 6d.). It is a straightforward account of a brilliant negro student who was able to come to England to study medicine, remained to build up a considerable private practice and to devote his great gifts to demonstrating as well as pleading the cause of the coloured peoples, whom Schweitzer has called the Lazarus of the modern world. No one who knew Moody or heard him speak could doubt that the negro peoples produce individuals able to take their place as equals in any society, or that part of the debt which Europe and America owe to Africa and her scattered children must be paid by providing adequate educational and religious training. Christian Europe has done too little too slowly, but Moody showed in his work and in his fine Christian character that missionary enterprise brings forth fruit of rare quality. Moody believed that no biological reason forbids mixed marriages and that Christian people must and can overcome all colour prejudice. His own ideal family life illustrated his belief. This is a book to set beside Mr. Basil Mathews' recent biography of Booker T. Washington who, however, spent his life among his own people, whereas Moody never seems to have felt called to work in Jamaica. Both kinds of ministry are needed to lead us out of the morass of colour prejudice. J. MILLS PHILLIPS.

It is always good to read a book which challenges our prejudices and forces us to re-examine conventional ideas. Dr. Alex Comfort provides such a stimulus in his *Sexual Behaviour in Society* (Duckworth, 8s. 6d.). This is as good an exposition of the "rational" attitude to sex as we shall find, and the realistic nature of the book is a useful corrective to those somewhat sentimental writers who either do not know or manage to ignore what is actually happening. Readers experienced in dealing with sexual and marriage problems will probably find themselves disagreeing with some of Dr. Comfort's recommendations, and Christians will find some of his views inadmissible, not because they conflict with outworn moralistic prejudices, but because they run counter to the Christian view of the nature of personality.

Modern Pattern for Marriage (Reinhardt & Evans, 8s. 6d.), by an American medical man, Dr. W. R. Stokes, has as its sub-title "The Newer

Understanding of Married Love". There is, however, nothing particularly new in it, and certainly little which has not already been made available in British books. Like Dr. Mace, who commends the book in a foreword, one would here and there join issue with the author, but the book is sound enough as far as it goes. The chief criticism to be made against it is that it does not go far enough. While Dr. Stokes rightly insists that emotional maturity is a necessary foundation for a good marriage, he does not help his readers to understand very clearly what is involved in such a maturity, and he has little to say about the deeper levels of love. Perhaps this deficiency is due to the lack of any religious basis for his philosophy of love and marriage. L. J. TIZARD.

Madagascar On The Move, by J. T. Hardyman (Livingstone Press, 7s. 6d.). There are few men as well qualified to write about Madagascar today as the author of this comprehensive and informative book. He is steeped in the history of the island, acquainted with most of the literature about it produced in recent years, and keenly observant of the changing conditions among which he lives. The result is a most convincing picture of a people coming to nationhood. It is presented from three aspects, the effect of the present changes upon the physical, mental, and spiritual life of the Malagasy. In the midst of the ferment is the Malagasy Church, still immature, but potentially great. Can it meet the challenge of the situation? In posing the question the author has given us what will be a standard work for many years to come. Misprints require attention on pp. 121, 142, 188, 206, 219. L. MAURICE WILLIAMS.

St. Francis of Assisi, by Omer Engelbert, translated by Edward Hutton (Burns, Oates, 16s.). The translator's introduction explains the value of this new, full-length, excellently documented work on St. Francis. It makes use of much research which has been done since the last biography appeared in 1926. The authorities are set out in a comprehensive bibliography, and history and legend are accepted generously but not uncritically. The English style does not hide the fact that it is a translation, but the story is well told.

Hymns in Christian Worship, by H. A. L. Jefferson (Rockliff, 17s. 6d.). The story of hymnody is pleasantly enough retold here, but we cannot concede for this book the uniqueness that the wrapper-advertisement suggests; those, moreover, who take its title seriously will be disappointed. The story has been told before in several books not mentioned in the bibliography; there is nothing of interest about the varying usages of hymns in worship by the different Communions; there is no attempt to fulfil the advertisement's promise of providing clear principles of judgment. There are a number of lapses of English, and several errors of fact. An obstinate conservatism in musical judgment and the persistent identification of theology with sectarian dispute are periodic annoyances. The criticism, however, is usually fair, and the unfamiliar material quoted almost always worth attending to. One of the best things in the book is the tribute to the work of Garrett Horder. We can recommend it as diversion for those who have not read Gillman, Fleming, or Millar Patrick, but not as a work of scholarship. E. ROUTLEY.

John Bishop's *Methodist Worship: In Relation to Free Church Worship* (Epworth Press, 8s. 6d.) will be of interest both to Methodists and other Free Churchmen. Part One, "Form and Order of Public Worship in the Free Churches", emphasizes the importance of a definite structure for a service of worship and discusses, with wise judgment, the different elements that make up the ordinary Free Church service. Part Two deals with Methodist worship in particular and outlines the origin of such characteristic

services as the Covenant, the Watchnight and the Love Feast. Sections are devoted to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, the doctrine of the sacraments and the importance of hymn singing in Methodism. Mr. Bishop has provided a useful and readable introduction to his subject. Fuller treatment might have been given to some of the less familiar services, though the author clearly writes with the aim of helping preachers and congregations to engage in Methodist worship today with a deeper understanding.

JAMES M. TODD.

John Neville Figgis, by M. G. Tucker (S.P.C.K., 10s. 6d.), is a study of the distinguished Cambridge don who became a member of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, and exercised a considerable influence in the pre-1914 years as historian and moralist. A son of J. B. Figgis, the minister of the Countess of Huntingdon Chapel at Brighton, he died in 1919 at the early age of 53, and this study attempts to save his work from being forgotten. His chief books were *The Gospel and Modern Needs* (1909) and *Civilization at the Cross-roads* (1913). In *Churches in the modern State* (1913) he is already protesting against the idea of an omni-competent state. There is a prophetic quality about him, and at some points he invites comparison with P. T. Forsyth.

In *Down Where the Bee-Folk Fly* (Independent Press, 7s. 6d.) Mr. V. J. Smith has written a series of studies not about bees only but about the life of nature throughout the year. There is "heavenly lore" in it too, and happily no mere sentiment—the author does not mind calling rats vermin. Excellent black and white illustrations.

About the Gospels, by C. H. Dodd (C.U.P., 3s. 6d.), is four addresses given in the Sunday morning service of the B.B.C. during September and October 1949. To read these talks is to be even more impressed than in the hearing with their pregnant simplicity. There is nothing better on Gospel Introduction for the serious student.

The Graphic Bible, by Lewis Browne (Independent Press, 8s. 6d.), is a very successful attempt to present the Bible story. What gives it distinction is the use of maps, designed by the author to be at the same time diagrams and pictures. There is one on almost every page and they convey a great deal of the story in themselves. The book crams a lot into 139 pages of large print and is a boon to teachers. The style is colloquial: "They were a courageous lot, those prophets" . . . "the majority went the way of all majorities" (on the Exile in Babylon, an excellent piece of reconstruction). The *O.T.* section reads more grippingly than the *N.T.*

Gathering up the Threads, by Mrs. F. A. Keynes (Heffer, Cambridge, 12s. 6d.), is a delightful book of reminiscences that one wishes were twice the length. The authoress is the widow of the late J. N. Keynes, a former Registrary of Cambridge University, and mother of the late Lord Keynes. The book will interest Cambridge people in the main, but there is a sidelight on the emergence of women in public life, for Mrs. Keynes was Cambridge's first woman councillor. And for Congregationalists there is interest in her early life in Bedford, where Dr. John Brown, the minister of Bunyan Meeting, was her father.

E. C. BLACKMAN.

NEW EDITIONS

Hymnal for Scotland. (O.U.P., full music 10s. 6d.; words only 5s.). This is the 1933 *English Hymnal* (words unaltered from 1906) plus fifteen hymns specially asked for by the Episcopalians of Scotland. The hymns are mostly of purely local interest; the tunes are first-rate, including a brand new tune by Vaughan Williams. The mating of tunes with words is in the main infelicitous.

ERIC ROUTLEY.

He Came Down from Heaven. Charles Williams (Faber & Faber, 16s.). Here, bound up in one volume, are two essays previously published separately: the first of these bears the same title as the reprint, the other *The Forgiveness of Sins.* It is a great pity that the author's style is so certain to obscure rather than illuminate his theme, for, once his work is grappled with, it is clear that he has deep insights into the essential truths of the Christian revelation. JOHN HUXTABLE.

An enlarged edition of C. T. Rae's "Contagious Christianity" is to hand, now bearing the title *Spiritual Discipline* (Independent Press, 5s.). It is a book of daily readings for six months which has proved its worth. J. WILDING.

At last we have a second edition (O.U.P., 10s. 6d.) of J. W. Harvey's translation of Otto's *The Idea of the Holy.* The first edition appeared in 1923 and went through ten impressions. We now have a reprint of the translation with the addition of three references to later books of Otto and the transference of certain German words from the text to footnotes. There is also a new appendix and a new preface. E. C. B.

The Nature of the Church According to the witness of the Society of Friends, first published in 1945 as a document for the Commission on the Church set up by the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order, has been re-issued (Friends House, N.W.1, 1s.). G. F. N.

LECTURES, ADDRESSES, *ETC.*

In his Inaugural Lecture as Professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology at Oxford, *The Responsibility and Scope of Pastoral Theology Today* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2s.), Professor V. A. Demant recognizes responsibility for "a certain Christian guidance in a society not of converted persons, but nevertheless living roughly according to an ethos derived from Biblical and Church sources" as well as for presenting a "Theology of Christian Spirituality" for the converted. He offers a penetrating analysis both of present needs and of wrong ways of attempting to meet them. His satisfaction with "the traditional corpus of learning" (*e.g.,* with war "under the heading of commutative justice"), though with "some reinterpretation", is less convincing.
G. F. N.

McGill University has recently instituted a Faculty of Divinity, and this is signalized by a neat brochure containing the *Inaugural Lectures* delivered by four of the new professors last winter (McGill University Press: no price given). Prof. J. S. Thomson claims that the return of theology within academic walls from which she has so long been banned because of her ancient claim to be queen of the sciences "is not an innovation, but a reunion full of promise for mankind". Prof. R. H. L. Slater vindicates the place of paradox in religion. Prof. W. C. Smith, lecturing on The Comparative Study of Religion, sometimes seems to imply that the question of the truth behind religious practices is hardly worth discussing. Prof. R. B. Y. Scott faces the modern neglect of the Old Testament and stresses its value and relevance.
E. C. B.

SMALL BOOKS

A normative pattern of Church life in the New Testament: fact or fancy? (James Clarke, 1s.), by Dr. W. D. Davies, is a reprint of two articles from the now defunct *Presbyter.* The conclusion of the matter is that "the New Testament would not seem to present us with a single fixed pattern of Church order which we are to regard as normative: but it does provide us with certain criteria which can guide us". A. J. B. HIGGINS.

The Church is a Family. Constance M. Parker and Richard J. Hall (Independent Press, 3s. 6d.). This is not a blueprint, but an exposition of principles; it rests on the conviction that the fundamental unity of the Christian Church must be displayed not only ecumenically but also locally, especially within the local church. How can we put real meaning into such a phrase as "the household of faith"? The authors believe that in the Family Church principle they have discovered the answer. They state their case with clarity and persuasiveness; their argument is well grounded theologically; and we hope that all who seek the good estate of Christ's Church will read and ponder this book. JOHN HUXTABLE.

Plan Overboard, by F. H. Wiseman (Speedwell Plays, Independent Press, 3s. 6d.), is a religious parable in the style of a comedy thriller, in which the characters rebel against the author. An original vehicle for modern evangelism. R. DUCE.

Congregational ministers do not usually write, nor does Independent Press usually publish, such books as *This Glorious Henley.* The author is the Rev. G. H. Peters, minister for five years at Henley. For an illustrated book the price is very moderate (2s. 6d.). It brings to notice how much more there is in Henley's historic past than the origin of its regatta; an important Nonconformist witness, for example, to which half the book is devoted.

The Epworth Press is producing a series of occasional papers at 1s. on the social nplications of Christianity; and pamphlets at 6d. on Communism. This is made ossible by the Beckly Trust and the aim is to be factual and not merely apologetic. lso on Communism we have a well printed "documentation" from the S.C.M. Press y J. B. Barron and H. M. Waddams, *Communism and the Churches* (4s.). t is a collection of statements by Communists in the Communist coun- ries including Yugoslavia but not China, Poland, or the Russian Zone of ermany, where the situation was too fluid at the time of writing (December 1949). here is also the Vatican Decree of July 1949. Also, *Karl Marx and his Doctrines,* y A. C. Bouquet (S.P.C.K., 1s.).

A Larger Way for Women, by K. Nora Brockway (O.U.P., 7s. 6d.), a survey of spects of Christian Education for Girls in S. India 1712-1948, makes dull reading, ut has 25 years' experience behind it as well as much research, and should not be eglected by those concerned for Indian education.

The Task of Rationalism according to A. Gowans Whyte (Watts, 6d.) is "to ontend for the strictly rational approach to every problem". Need this involve such ersistent misunderstanding of what faith is?

The Bible and Polygamy, by G. Parrinder (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.), is a careful study f Biblical teaching on a problem which is pressing in Africa, and not as remote as iany suppose even in Europe. E. C. B.

ALSO RECEIVED

hree devotional books from the Epworth Press:—
low to Pray, by J. N. Ward (1s.), is noteworthy not only for effective, popular speaking, but for its truly religious quality and understanding of prayer.
y Great Redeemer's Praise, by H. G. Tunnicliff (7s. 6d.).
he Quiet Way, Selections from Tersteegen, well translated by E. Chisholm (4s. 6d.). There is much to search the heart here, though it recommends more turning away from the world than most of us could reconcile with the teaching of Jesus.
owards Christian Parenthood, by F. B. Flint (The Churchman Publishing, 2s. 6d.).
ladys Aylward, by R. O. Latham (Livingstone Press, 1s. 6d.).
rom Salvationist Publishing Ltd.:—
'ass of Grays, by B. Watson (1s. 6d.), is the old miracle of the drunkard converted.
he Sword of God, by C. Baird, a collection of poems (2s. & 3s. 6d.).
rom the Friends Home Service Committee:—
esus in Action—Daily Readings in *Mark,* by E. W. Savage and E. G. Dunstan (1s. 6d.).
hrist in Catastrophe, by Emil Fuchs (1s.).
Lily among Thorns (6d.), passages in the life of Margaret Fell.
uakerism and Family Life (9d.).
he Place of Women in the Society of Friends (9d.).
ersonal Relationships between Men and Women (9d.).
Shorter Service Book, compiled by G. W. Briggs (O.U.P., 2s. 6d.). Includes a selection of Psalms and Hymns. Useful for clubs.
our useful volumes of a new Religious Instruction series from Arnold are:—
ood News from God, Workers for God, Telling the Good News (2s. 6d. each), *The Founder of the Faith* (3s.). The author, E. W. Crabb, is headmaster of The Hyde School, N.W.9. Well produced and illustrated.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

Hibbert Journal (October). Prof. Toynbee contributes an informative article entitled "Religion and the Rise of Western Culture", which is virtually a review of Mr. Christopher Dawson's book with the same title. Dr. L. P. Jacks asks, "Is Loisy Negligible as a Critic of the New Testament?" Mr. Hamilton Fyfe has much that is pertinent to say about "Communism as a Religion". The current interest in existentialism is represented by R. Gregor Smith's "Karl Jaspers on Theology and Philosophy".

London Quarterly and Holborn Review (October). The most valuable contribution is Dean Matthews' "The Significance of Christ through the Ages" (2nd part). Rev. Duncan Coomer on "The Influence of Puritanism and Dissent on Methodism" cannot forbear looking at his theme in reverse: "The beliefs of Dissent were ultimately, and profoundly, influenced by the Methodist Revival, but the influence was not a reciprocal one". That all churches in the West are facing similar problems is emphasized by Rev. D. H. Smith's "The End of Foreign Missions?"

Baptist Quarterly (October). In "Advance and Reunion" Rev. R. E. White considers frankly "two apparently contradictory challenges"—the call to be better Baptists and the claims of the ecumenical movement. Prof. R. F. Aldwinckle expounds the thesis that there is no essential cleavage between revelation and reason.

Expository Times (August-November). The series, "Living Issues in Biblical Scholarship", is continued with articles on "The Antiquity of Israelite Monotheism" (Prof. H. H. Rowley), "Is there a Theology of the Old Testament?" (Rev. A. S. Herbert), "Prophet and Priest in Israel" (Prof. N. W. Porteous), and "Divine Kingship and the Old Testament" (Prof. A. R. Johnson). "St. Paul in the Twentieth Century" is a sympathetic assessment by Prof. A. M. Hunter of the Apostle's place in contemporary theology. Further contributions include "Gambling—A Problem for Christian Ethics" (Dr. W. Lillie), "The Dead Sea Scrolls: Publications and Review" (Rev. B. J. Roberts), and "Comparative Religion and Evangelism" (Dr. W. S. Urquhart).

International Review of Missions (October). The first three articles can usefully be read together. (1) "The Missionary Obligation" by Father A. G. Hebert; (2) "The Missionary Obligation in relation to the Present Historical Situation and to the Radical New Relationships between East and West" by Dr. M. A. C. Warren; and (3) "Christian Vocation and the Missionary Call" by Rev. C. Long. Rev. N. Goodall describes the meeting of the *Ad Interim* Committee of the I.M.C. at Whitby, Ontario, in July 1950. In "A New Voice for the South Pacific", the Rev. C. F. Gribble outlines the proceedings and indicates the significance of the first South Pacific Conference held in Fiji in April-May 1950. Rev. V. Jothipakiam deals with "The Training of Christian Church Leaders in India".

Church Quarterly Review (July-September). Dr. Geddes MacGregor writes informatively of "Ecclesiastical Usages in Early Seventeenth Century Scotland"; Rev. G. C. Bosanquet has a long article on "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans". Prof. G. Norborn writes for specialists—"The Philosophical Quest and the Logical Positivists".

Evangelical Quarterly (July). Rev. J. Van den Berg deals competently with "Calvin's Missionary Message"; he insists that the Genevan Reformer has been greatly misunderstood, and that "the latent presence of a strong missionary zeal" runs through Calvinism.

Friends' Quarterly (October). One of the best articles is "The Call of God—Who Follows?" by Wilfrid Littleboy, being the substance of an address given at the Yearly Meeting. Prof. Elton Trueblood is represented by a chapter—"Denominational Loyalty in the Ecumenical Movement"—from his forthcoming book, *Signs of Hope in a Century of Despair.*

Theology Today (July). The purpose and scope of Dr. Walter Lowrie's article is clearly defined by its title: "The Simple Gospel: A Plea to Theologians". In "Calvinism and the Missionary Enterprise", Rev. S. M. Zwemer argues vigorously "that Calvin recognised the missionary obligation of the Church both in theory and practice". "T. S. Eliot's Quest for Certitude" by Prof. W. D. Dunkel is a critical evaluation of *The Cocktail Party*. "The Gospel and the Things to Come" by Principal J. P. Thornton-Duesbery and "The Science of Religion: A Christian Interpretation" by Prof. E. J. Jurgi are well worth reading.

Review and Expositor (July). The Bach bicentenary is marked by an appreciative article by Prof. W. A. Mueller. There are stimulating contributions by Rev. L. D. Johnson and Rev. J. M. Dawson.

H. CUNLIFFE JONES.